STUDIES IN CŌLA HISTORY AND ADMINISTRATION





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STUDIES IN

CŌLA HISTORY AND ADMINISTRATION

PLAN OF UTTIRAMERUR Scale 1 . 4 Chains' RAJA MADU CHINNA NARASAM SANDU CHINNA NARASAM MYLANSANDU PERIA NARASM DISTRICT BOARDROAD FROM WANDIVASH TO UTTIRAMERUR To Vairamegha Tataka. SANDU DISTRIST BOARD ROAD TO CHINGLEPUT BAZAR STREET DISTRICT BOARD ROAD RICE DANCE PETTAL THE RUYU - KAIKKOLA PILLAYAR KOIL THEREVU NAMIAL LANDS (WET) ANITA PILL AYARMOIL THERUVU WATTONT AMERY KOZHAMBER KOIL -

STUDIES IN CŌLA HISTORY AND ADMINISTRATION

BY

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UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS



PREFACE

Of the seven studies included in this volume, all except the first two are based on lectures delivered in 1930-31.

The discussion of the historical value of the Puranāṇāru is a necessary introduction to the consideration of the problems relating to Karikāla, the early Cōļa king. In the three following essays, an attempt is made to present a general view of rural administration under the Cōḷas with special reference to the working of the Sabhās of two villages. The celebrated Parāntaka inscriptions of Uttaramērūr are next studied in detail and the nature of their constitutional provisions examined. The texts of these inscriptions in Appendix II have been corrected, generally on the lines indicated by Venkayya. The last essay traces the life and work of one of the leading officials of the reigns of Kulōttuṅga I and his son.

My thanks are due to the Syndicate of the University of Madras for sanctioning the publication of this work. I am under obligation to the officers of the Archaeological Survey of India for the permission accorded to me to consult transcripts and impressions of unpublished inscriptions. I acknowledge with pleasure the assistance rendered by Messrs. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri and S. Vaiyapuri Pillai who read the proofs and made valuable suggestions, Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar who kindly checked the references, and Mr. S. R. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar who prepared the Index.

University of Madras, 20th June 1932.

K. A. N.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

- A. S. I. Archaeological Survey of India.
- A. R. E. Annual Report on Epigraphy (Madras).
- E. I. Epigraphia Indica.
- or Ind. Ant. Indian Antiquary.
- J.A. O. S. Journal of the American Oriental Society.
- S. I. I. South Indian Inscriptions.



CORRIGENDUM.

Page 82-line 24-for ?randapperadar read ?rrapperadar and cancel n. +.

THE "PURAM FOUR HUNDRED" AS A SOURCE OF HISTORY

The Puranunu is one of the eight major anthologies of the early Tamil classics. Like the Padirruppattu and many of the poems in the Pattuppattu, it lays claim to be a collection of contemporary compositions of different poets on the princes and chieftains whose patronage they enjoyed in some form or other. The colophon at the end of each poem generally contains information on the subject of the poem, its author and the occasion for its composition. The authenticity of these colophons has been called in question, and it is our object here to consider whether this has been done on proper grounds. The matter is of some importance to the student of the Early History of the Tamil country. If, as is commonly believed, the colophons embody a tradition, which, apart from the corruptions and losses due to neglect and time, may be accepted as correct, then we must recognise in these poems a quantity of literary evidence of unique value; because then, no other part of India can be said to provide such sober and realistic pictures of contemporary life and politics as these early Tamil classics furnish. * The data furnished by these poems for historical reconstructions will not be the less valuable on account of their being drawn from casual literary pieces rather than from chronicles or other works of a professedly historical nature. If, however,

^{*} That this is not an unduly high estimate of the value of these poems will be evident to those who, though not in a position to read the Tamil originals, have followed the translations of several of the poems by Pope, Kanakasabhai and other writers in the *Indian Antiquary* and elsewhere.

the particulars furnished by the colophons turn out, on critical examination, to be undependable improvisations of a later age, the value of the poems themselves to the historian would be greatly reduced, and they would be hardly worthy of any greater credence than most other literary works.

We shall confine our attention, for purposes of the discussion that follows, to the Puram Four Hundred, although many of the arguments would apply with equal force to the other collections as well. grammar of Tamil literature classifies its subject-matter under two broad divisions called Aham and Puram, often somewhat inadequately equated with Love and War respectively. Of these the Puram which deals with concrete objective situations (not relating to love) is naturally of more interest to us than the endless analysis and description of psychic attitudes which are the prime concern of the Aham. Not that verses pertaining to this last division contain no interesting allusions to historical events and social customs; but these allusions often lack the fullness and directness that is characteristic of the references in the Puram group.

The Puranāṇūru was first published in 1894 by Mahāmahōpādhyāya Paṇḍit V. Svāminātha Aiyar after a careful collation of several manuscripts of the text and of an old commentary for a part of the anthology. He has given a vivid description of the condition of the manuscripts when he took them up, and the cautious and scientific methods followed by him in the preparation of the first edition of this work. Nearly thirty years later, in 1923, the same ripe scholar issued a second edition with the readings brought up-to-date in the light of other manuscripts he had examined in the

interval. The colophons to the poems so far as they are known at present, therefore, rest on the authority of the best manuscript sources available and the unrivalled erudition of the greatest living Tamil scholar.

It must also be observed at the outset that the same scholar drew attention * to the fact that the learned annotator Naccinārkkiņiyar himself found a difficulty in following the system adopted in the grammatical notes which formed part of the colophons of the Purananuru verses. The divergence between the system of the Tolkappiyam and that followed in the colophons was accounted for by Naccinarkkiniyar on the supposition that some writers had followed by mustake systems of grammar later than the Tolkappiyam and the Agattiyam which alone, in his opinion, applied to the anthologies. It is needless for us to accept this explanation though his opinion that the notes on the Puranānāru verses did not follow the Tolkāppiyam registers a fact which may turn out to be of importance in deciding the question of the authenticity of these The Tolkappiyam, despite its name and the tradition about its mythical antiquity, betrays signs of not being absolutely the earliest work in the Tamil language; it is quite possible that a critical study of the linguistic and sociological data embedded in the 1600 sūtras of this cyclopaedic work may establish a relatively late date for it. A slight investigation of the employment of finite verbal forms ending in 'undu' in the Puranānūru has led one scholar † to the conclusion that some of the verses in that collection are anterior to the Tolkappiyam in time. The divergence

[·] Preface to the first edition.

[†] Mr. K. N. Sivaraja Pillai—' undu' ennum idaiccor, pirayōgam (Madras University, 1929).

between the grammatical notes to the Puram verses and the system of the Tolkāppiyam must, on this line of argument, be accounted for on a hypothesis which would be the reverse of that employed by Naccinarkkiniyar. There is nothing intrinsically wrong about suggesting such an antiquity to the Pugam collection, though it is a fact that we have no information about the compiler or his time. For in one instance, that of the Kalittogai, we have evidence of the collection having been put together by Nallanduvanar, one of the poets represented in the collection itself; and this shows that a priori assumptions on the length of time that intervened between the actual composition of the poems and the time when they were brought together in an anthology or their colophons supplied may not be as sound as they appear.

It is not our aim in this essay to reach a final conclusion on the difficult issues thus raised. Though the volume of the literature of the Sangam is not great, the historical and linguistic problems presented by it are so complex, and competent scholars who can deal with them systematically from all aspects are so few, that their proper study can hardly be said to have begun. The linguist waits for the historian to settle the chronology of this literature, without a knowledge of which the study of the growth in language is not feasible; the historian on the other hand, seeing how inconclusive the other lines of evidence are on this question, hopes for some conclusive results from the study of language development. We have therefore to wait for a synthesis to be effected between the different lines of approach and for definite conclusions to emerge on the internal chronology of this literature. Our object here is limited to examining the soundness of

the considerations that have been urged against the authenticity of the colophons of the Puranānūru, against their being accepted as a proper basis for history.

Mr. Venkayya remarks: * "The Tamil anthology Puranānūru, for instance, furnishes the names of a number of Cola kings. It is extremely doubtful if we shall ever be in a position to fix definitely the period when they flourished, much less make out a connected history of their reigns. No doubt we have literary documents assigned-by whom and when we do not know-to the reigns of these Cola kings. furnished by these documents and the tradition connecting them with particular Cola kings have to be received with caution." This caution in dealing with literary evidence is, in itself, admirable. But then, having imposed this reserve on himself in accepting the evidence of literary tradition on Karikāla Cola among others, Mr. Venkayya proceeds forthwith to accept unreservedly all the statements made in eleventh century inscriptions about events that happened, if at all, five centuries before their date, and to suggest on their basis a "provisional date of the Cola king Karikala." Now, one may ask whether any statement gains in trustworthiness merely because it is engraved on copper or stone and not written on palm leaf or other more perishable material, and whether it is not possible for a deliberate invention to get into an epigraph, or for a correct tradition to be transmitted in successive copyings of literary documents. The exaggerated caution assumed by some epigraphists in their approach to literary evidence, and the childish faith they occasionally exhibit in hugging the most palpable lies set down on stone and copper

^{*} A. S. I. 1905-6 p. 174 n. 7.

may raise a legitimate doubt as to whether their obiter dicta * on literary questions are entitled to the same regard as their considered opinion on technical matters within their purview. In any case, it is a strange procedure to adopt in the name of caution to prefer, in writing the history of Karikāla, the late legends of the Eastern Calukya and Telugu Coda grants to the sober and realistic statements about that king in the Puranānāru and the Pattuppāttu simply because we cannot be sure about who ascribed these poems to Karikāla's reign and when. Elsewhere, † apparently because of the common name Killivalavan, Mr. Venkayya identifies the Cola king of the Manimekalai story with the Cola who died at Kulamurram # concerning whom there are eighteen poems in the Purananuru by no fewer than ten poets and makes the following observations: "In the note appended to each of these poems is mentioned the name of the king which does not figure in the body of the poem. Consequently, the assumption that these ten poets were contemporaries of the king is based on tradition current at the time when the notes were added. In the absence of definite information as to the authenticity of the tradition on which the notes are based, it is safer to abstain from drawing any historical conclusions from them." It must be stated, however, that in writing so, Mr. Venkayya may have been influenced by his view, which he subsequently withdrew I in his notice of the Sinnamanur plates, that the anthology of the Purananuru

[•] Mr. Venkayya also writes: "According to Tamil literature there was a Pallava king ruling at Kānci as a contemporary of Karikāla," and to Kōkkilli's son by a Nāga princess "was subsequently assigned Toṇḍaināḍu." Neither of these statements is supported by the sources.

[†] E. I. XI p. 233 n. 3.

[‡] In this Dr. S. K. Aiyangar has followed him-Manimekhalai in its historical setting, p. 35.

[¶] A. R. E. 1907 paragraph 17.

was compiled by Perundēvaṇār, a protege of the Pallava Nandivarman III. The truth is that Perundēvaṇār, whose invocatory poems lead off many of the Śangam anthologies, was an earlier poet of whose Tamil rendering of the Bhāratam, doubtless that mentioned in the larger Śiṇṇamaṇūr plates, only a few verses have been preserved to us in the quotations of later commentators. There is no reason to suppose that he edited the anthology. It is surprising that the correction furnished by the Pāṇḍya plates from Śiṇṇamaṇūr is ignored by Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar * who repeats the antiquated view, that Perundēvaṇār the contemporary of Nandi III and the author of a Bhārataveṇbā was also the anthologist of the Śangam poems.

In the History of the Tamils, the same author makes some statements on the Purananuru and urges certain considerations against the authenticity of the colophons which, if wellfounded, would prove almost fatal to all chance of our getting any history from that collection. It is, therefore, necessary to examine them carefully. We shall be led, however, too far afield if we enter on a discussion of his general views on the internal chronology of these poems, or the tests he adopts for separating earlier anthologies from later ones and so on; such a discussion is not necessary for the limited purpose before us. Of the Purananuru he says: "It differs from the other collections in several ways. First, it deals with the wars of kings and the gifts they gave to the poets who sang them. Secondly, dealing with wars, it also contains a number of elegies on dead kings and nobles." These are, as has been

^{*} See Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar, *History of the Tamils* p. 158. In his footnote he refers his readers to his Tamil work on the Pallavas where, it may be noted, he asserts that the Pandya charters contain nothing about the Sangam.

pointed out already, just the differentiae of Purapporul and hence their great interest for us. We may notice, though without stressing it, the inaccuracy of part of the statement which follows: "The first half of this anthology deals with the former subject (wars and gifts), the next fourth with the latter (deaths), and the last fourth seems to be a miscellaneous supplement in which odes discovered later on both subjects were thrust." The division of the collection into two homogeneous sections and a third forming a miscellaneous supplement is purely imaginary, and there is nothing to support the suggestion made that the last section was an afterthought or a later addition. Moreover, on the evidence of one manuscript, Pandit Svāminātha Aivar suggests that the Puram had three divisions --aram, porul and inbam. It is, however, when we reach the next distinction drawn by Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar between the Puram and the other collections, that his misstatements attain serious proportions. "Thirdly, to a large number of these Puram poems, colophons are added, noting the occasions when the poems were composed. These colophons seem to have been written by a person later than the one who made the anthology and who derived the information partly by a study of the poems and partly from tradition." To say that colophons to individual poems are a distinguishing feature of the Pugan Four Hundred is not correct. The objective nature of the Puram necessitated longer colophons mentioning the personnel and occasion of each composition, unlike the Aham verses which were for the most part self-contained and therefore got only brief colophons giving short grammatical notes and the name of the composer. Colophons similar to those of the Puram are also to be found attached to some of the songs in the Pattuppattu

and to poems in the 'Ten Tens' (Padirruppattu) that have come down to us. To say, then, that colophons were written for a large number of poems in the Puram is to imply that there are several for which no such colophons are known to have existed. There is nothing to support this implication. Only the state of our manuscript sources * has been responsible for the irretrievable loss of several of them. Lastly, postulate two persons one of whom supplied the colophons at an indefinite interval after the other had made the anthology is altogether gratuitous. Why the author of the anthology could not have himself read the poems and accepted traditional information at the time the anthology was made, and supplied the colophons; further, why the colophons might not have been added to individual poems earlier than their entry into an anthology are matters which are apparently not deemed worthy of consideration by Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar. The truth is that we now know so little of the technical conditions which governed the propagation and preservation of literature and literary tradition in the distant past that it is unprofitable to hazard surmises against which may be pitted other surmises not less plausible. But this we do know: that in some manner that seems to us such a marvel, the ancients commanded the means of handing down from generation to generation, orally or otherwise, a considerable literature with exceptional accuracy. The history of the Vedic Samhitas with their anukramanis and of the early Buddhist Pali literature is sufficient proof of this. In the course of generations differences in readings cropped up, and particular schools and redactions of works died out for one reason and another; but these changes did not affect the substantial accuracy of what

^{*} See Pandit Svaminatha Aiyar's remarks in his Preface.

was actually preserved and handed down. It seems therefore only proper to accept the colophons to the poems which have reached us through the same channels as the poems themselves as of equal authenticity with the poems to which they are attached, unless, indeed, it is proved on substantial grounds that the colophons were the inventions of a much later age, the correct tradition having died out long before.

In trying to establish the unreliable character of the colophons to the Puram, Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar permits himself to make so many contradictory statements that it is not easy to understand his real position on questions of vital importance to the discussion. Let us first bring together his statements about the chronology of the colophons and see how they fare in relation to one another. In a somewhat rhetorical rebuke he administers to modern Tamil scholarship, he says: * "It is high time that scholars gave up confounding the texts of poems with the commentaries of probably a thousand years later", and he makes it clear on the same page that, in his opinion, the colophons and the commentaries were composed probably between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries. From this we may conclude that the original composition of the poems has to be ascribed to a period between the second and the sixth centuries. we are told that "the four anthologies were made up in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D." and that, at that time, "for each ode was noted the name of the tinai (and perhaps turai) to which it belonged and the name of its author." So that, on the author's own showing, no great interval elapsed between the original composition of the poems and their collection in anthologies—a

result which in itself would go far to establish the authenticity of the tradition relating to the poems. This result is by no means so clear-cut, because elsewhere Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar says * that Perundevanar, a poet of the ninth century A. D. "seems to have taken a great interest in the collections of the poems of an earlier age, for he has provided introductory odes in praise of Siva" to some of these collections. In the author's Tamil book on the Pallavas he states more definitely that Perundevanar of the ninth century made the anthologies and provided them with introductory verses. Then again, it is not clear whether the colophons of the Puzam are held to be all of them absolutely unreliable and useless for historical purposes, or whether only some of them are suspect for certain specific reasons, or whether, lastly, because some are demonstrably false, the rest have, for that reason, to be rejected. "The Puram as we have it," contends Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar, "has besides, † (1) colophons indicating the particular occasions when each of the first two hundred and sixty-six odes were sung. (2) paraphrases of these two hundred and sixty-six odes and brief notes grammatical or interpretive (sic). The colophons stop where the paraphrases stop and probably both were done by an editor of the age when commentaries were composed on old Tamil poems, i. e., probably between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries. The colophons, and not the commentaries, are resumed with the three hundred and fifty ninth ode and are continued to the end." Once more the errors in the statement of facts in this passage are not only considerable in themselves, but are such as to lend strong support to the hypothesis that the colophons and the

^{*} op. cit. p, 159.

[†] i.e., besides the tinai, turai and the name of the author op. cit. p, 410.

paraphrases of the first part of the collection belong to The facts as stated in the passage just one late author. quoted are: (1) the colophons and the paraphrases stop at the 266th ode, and (2) the colophons, not the commentaries, are resumed with the 359th ode and are continued to the end. The necessary implication is that there are no colophons to poems numbering 267 to 358 inclusive. Now this is simply not correct: because Nos. 315, 344-5 have colophons like the other poems, and on Nos. 361-3 and some other verses we have no more information than we get on the odes that are said to have no colophons (Nos. 267 to 358). In reality, the colophons were furnished for all the odes and, as already stated it is only the decayed state of the manuscripts that is responsible for the gaps in our knowledge. This is sufficiently indicated by the learned editor of the work in his preface. Further, it is conceivable that the tinai and turai were sometimes inserted later, because this can be done by any one who knows the rules of grammar and has before him particular poems and their contexts; but it is inconceivable that these contexts themselves, without which the tinai and turai could not even be guessed at in several instances, were the inventions of an age much later than that to which the poems belonged. It is necessary at this point to quote (in translation) the remarks on the state of the manuscripts made by Pandit V. Svāminātha Aiyar in his preface to the first edition. as these are best calculated to place the commentary and the colophons in a proper light. He says: " In this commentary are to be found many words that are not in current use. Further, here and there a few sentences seem to have been misplaced. As there are no means at present available to make necessary alterations and as I hope later to be able to do so when

better manuscripts become available, I have published them exactly as I found them in the manuscripts. This commentary is extant only for the first 266 poems of this work; in no manuscript is found the commentary for the remaining poems; and after poem No. 242 the commentary has suffered damage and is somewhat confused. We do not know who wrote this commentary. The discussions of this author in his special notes on some poems indicate the existence of an older gloss on this work which has not come down to us.

"The manuscripts of the text of the poems (which did not contain the commentary), besides exhibiting several variations due to the excess or shortage of letters and words and many confused transpositions, did not contain the tinai after some poems, the turai after others, and both after yet others; the names of the composers had got damaged after some poems, and these of the subjects of the poems after others, and in some other instances the names of both had disappeared." This description of the manuscripts by the great scholar who spent so many years in collating them should give the quietus to all baseless conjectures on the colophons and their relation to the extant commentary.

"It is evident," says Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar, *
"that some of the colophons appended to the poems by
the editor do not embody tradition but contain guesses,
sometimes wild." Our examination of the value of the
Puram Four Hundred as a source of history would not
be complete without a consideration of the cases
adduced by Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar in support of his
statement just quoted. His first instance emerges from

^{*} op. cit. page 410.

a comparison of songs numbered 76 and 77, both said to be compositions of a single poet, Idaikkungur Kilar, on the same hero, the Pāṇḍya Neḍunjeliya who was victor at Talaiyālaṅgāṇam. He says: "It is imposssible to believe that the hero victor of Talaiyālaṅgāṇam, known to the poet (76) and the boy-hero, unknown to the poet (77) were one and the same person." But was the boy-hero unknown to the poet? The operative part of the text of Puṇam 77 is:

" nedundērk-kodinji poliya niņgōņ yār-kol vāļka-vavan kaņņi "

which is translated by Mr. Aiyangar thus: "He stands so as to adorn the carved post of the chariot; whoever he may be, may his garland not fade for a long time." A more literal rendering would be: "Who verily is it that stands so as to adorn the carved post of the chariot? May his garland flourish!" Far from being ignorant of the identity of the boy-king, the poet is sure that there is only one answer to his question. Further if amidst the many uncertainties of the literature of the Sangam. there is one fact established beyond all doubt, it is that the hero of Talaiyālangānam was a little boy whose youth tempted the cupidity of his neighbours.* And this raises a strong presumption of the identity of the persons to whom Puram 76 and 77 refer; and what can be more natural than that an admiring poet should, as he does in Puram 77, exaggerate the youth of his hero in celebrating his victory and sing of him as a tender child who, despite his youth, worked wonders on the field of battle? The next instance adduced is Puram 74. which is said to have been composed in a Cola prison. by a Cera king amazed at his own pusillanimity in seeking water of his jailors to quench his thirst. The colophon says that the prisoner did not drink the water

[•] cf. Puram 72 and the present writer's The Pandyan Kingdom pp. 27-8

he got, and describes his act in the words: "unnan śollittunjiya pāttu" which might mean that without drinking the water, he uttered the lines and died. is the meaning accepted by Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar who draws attention to a contradictory tradition related in the Tamil-nāvalar-caritai which says that this ode was composed by the king and despatched to his poetfriend Poygaiyar who thereupon sang the 'Kalavali Forty' and obtained his release. "The fact that the two legends contradict each other shows," we are assured * "that supposed traditions which Tamil scholars regard as sacrosanct are but brittle reeds to lean upon in historical investigation." The first thing to observe in this connection is that the Tamil-Nāvalar-Caritai is, as Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar admits, a demonstrably late work of the sixteenth century A. D. † and some regard must be had to this in pitting its traditions against those in the colophons of the Purananuru. Further, in this particular instance, the note in the Caritai leaves altogether unexplained the reference to drinking water that occurs in the text of the poem. The suggestion has been made ‡ that the Cera for whose release the Kalavali was composed by Poygai was some king other than the author of Puram 74. But it is not possible to accept this, because Senganan, the Cola king is expressly mentioned both in the colophon of the Puram song and that of the Kalavali as the Cera Irumpogai's foe; and the Kalavli celebrates Senganan's victory. The real solution is that offered by Pandit Svāminātha Aiyar himself; ¶ we should

[·] History of the Tamils p. 414.

⁺ See Preface to T. Kanakasundaram Pillai's Edn. of the Caritai p. XII.

[‡] op. cit. p. 58. Also Kalava'i Edn. by N. M. Venkatasami Nattar, Preface pp. 4-5.

[¶] Sangattamilum Pirkālattamilum p, 94. He is followed by Pandit Anantarama Aiyar in his edition of the Kalavali, Preface p, 12 & n.

understand the word 'tunjiya' in the colophon not in the sense 'died,' but in the not less usual meaning 'slept' or 'swooned.' The note in the Nāvalar-caritai which says that the song was despatched to Poygaivar seems hardly trustworthy; because the poet should, even without such a reminder to him, have known of his king's fate. The other discrepancies * between the notes in the Caritai and the colophon of Puram 74 are too inconsiderable to affect the authenticity of the latter. Again, two objections are urged by Mr. Srinivasa Aivangar against the colophon to Puram 47. It says that by this song Kovūr Kilūr saved a fellow poet from being put to death as a spy by Nedungilli who died at Kāriyāru. First "there is nothing in the poem remotely suggesting a spy;" secondly, "Kovūr Kilar was a favourite of the enemies of Nedungilli i.e., Nalangilli and Killi Valavan, and therefore not likely to have any influence with Nedungilli." Neither of these objections is sound. The first objection is easily met. The translation of the poem given by Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar himself clearly suggests the idea of espionage, or at any rate, of some means of injuring persons. It is this: "The life of these seekers of patronage is free from the blame of harming others." This in fact is the main argument of the piece and the original is very vigorous:

ipparisil välkkai pirarkku-ttīdarindanrō-vinrē.

The second objection stated above also overlooks the argument of the poet, that poets of his kind moved freely from one prince to another not taking account of their political relations, and that it would be wrong to suspect a poet who visited him simply because he

^{*} They are: the mention of the 'east gate' instead of the 'west gate' and the number of the poem, given as 158 in the Caritai.

had last left the court of a political rival. Further, by saying that Kovūr Kilar was the favourite of the enemies of Nedungilli viz., Nalangilli and Killivalavan, Mr. Aiyangar identifies Nedungilli who died at Kāriyāru with Nedungilli who was besieged at Uraiyur by Nalangilli. If this identification is correct, as most probably it is, then it would transpire that Kovūr Kilar was as much friends with Nedungilli as with his foes; for Puram Nos. 44 and 45 are by Kövür Kilär and on Nedungilli. In fact this poet's successful efforts in the promotion of peace and mutual good will among the pugnacious princelings of his time come in for special notice and appreciation by Dr. G. U. Pope. * Lastly, about Puram 173 Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar remarks: "It is impossible to regard this ode but as the song of a hungry bard in search of a patron; yet it is attributed to a royal personage by the editor of the Puram." This objection seems at first sight to be indeed well-taken. But Pannan is mentioned together with Killivalavan by Kövür Kilär in Puram 70, and consequently there is no intrinsic difficulty in accepting that Killivalavan who died at Kulamurram and Pannan were contemporaries and that the king might conceivably have composed a song on his friend Pannan. Though the subject-matter of Puram 173 seems hardly suited to such a composition, its explanation may be that the poem is conceived as the utterance of a bard, as suggested in all the alternative interpretations given in its commentary. † Let us grant, however, that a real incongruity may have arisen by a wrong poem or colophon having been substituted for the right one at this point. And a close scrutiny may reveal some other instances of a similar character. But it is

[#] I. A. XXIX p 255.

⁺ A comparison of this poem with Puzam Nos. 270 and 312, especially the former, is very instructive on this point.

grossly to exaggerate the issue to say, as Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar does, that "many more such colophons can easily be found in the anthology" (italics mine). We can hardly expect that in the course of long centuries the anthologies have been transmitted to us without errors in details having crept in. But, for this reason, to cast a doubt on the accuracy of whole groups of poems and their colophons and to reject them wholesale is to apply standards of criticism which would render all historical writing impossible. As is only to be expected in such a case, the practice of writers is often better than would result from a rigid application of the principles enunciated by them, and Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar himself has made far more use of the Puram Four Hundred than would be proper if he held fast to the criticisms urged by him against the credibility of the poems and the traditions relating to them as found in the colophons. In the next study on Karikāla will be found instances of colophons fully borne out by the texts of poems in different anthologies, sufficient proof that the colophons embody genuine history.

It is also necessary to observe, before closing, that the question of the authenticity of the colophons which has engaged our attention so far, is different from that of the internal chronology of the poems that results from our accepting them. It is indeed true that hasty genealogical lists have been evolved for the dynasties represented in the poems; these lists lack support from the colophons and Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar does well to deprecate them. But their shortcomings leave untouched the main question of the authority and correctness for purposes of history of the literary tradition we have been discussing. The method of working in data drawn from it in a restoration of the past, and the pattern resulting from their disposition offer limitless scope to the talent of the individual historian.

KARIKĀLA IN HISTORY AND LEGEND

The name of Karikāla fills a great place in the early history of the Tamils. Some of the later Cōla kings of the line of Vijayālaya are known from their inscriptions to have borne the name. Several ruling families in the Telugu districts claimed descent from Karikāla. Lastly, he is the centre of many stories of a palpably legendary character. The Age of Karikāla has been the subject of many discussions in recent years; it can hardly be said that any conclusive results have yet been reached.

The primary sources of our knowledge of Karikāla, the early Tamil Cōla king, are literary. We have also secondary literary sources of later times, and equally late epigraphical references of a vague character. It is best to arrange these as far as possible in a chronological order and indicate the information that can be gathered from them. The list that follows is not intended to be exhaustive, but calculated to show the diversity in the nature of the sources we are dealing with by furnishing examples of a representative character.

- I. Puṇanāṇūṇu.—(a) No. 7. The stanza is said to have been composed by Karuṅgulal-Ādaṇār on Karikāla. The king's name does not figure in the text, and it is a general praise of the king's prowess in war.
- (b) No. 65. This is said to be a lament of Kalāttalaiyār uttered when a Cēra king, Perunjēral Ādaņ, wounded in the back in a fight with Karikāla,

resolved to give up his life by starvation * after such an ignominious defeat. The text of the poem mentions the wound in the back of the dying king but gives no names. We learn, however, from the next verse and from Ahanāṇāru 55, that these events happened, exactly as they are given in Puram 65 and its colophon, at the battle of Veṇṇpparandalai.

- (c) No. 66. A song by Veṇṇi-kkuyattiyār comparing the relative merits of Karikāla and his Cēra foe after the battle of Veṇṇipparandalai. This piece is important because it gives the names of Karikāl-vaļavaṇ and Veṇṇipparandalai, and mentions the suicide of the enemy—a striking confirmation of the data furnished by Puram 65. The author of this poem, whose name means "Potter woman of Veṇṇi" was most probably a native of Veṇṇi and an eyewitness to the battle that took place in its neighbourhood.
- (d) Puram 224. In this poem Karungalal-Adanār, the author of Puram 7 (anter commiserates the world on the loss it sustained by the death of Karikāla. The text does not give the name of the king which occurs only in the colophon. The king's heroism, his patronage of poets and the Vedic sacrifices performed by him are mentioned at some length.
- II. Pattuppāṭṭu (a) Porunarāṛṣṇuppaḍai.—A poem of 248 lines by Muḍattāma-kkaṇṇyār. Karikāla is mentioned by name (l. 148) and said to be the son of
- Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar apparently understands the expression Vālvadakkiruttal as "death by cutting one's throat with a sword"—History of the Tamils p. 336. Contra Pandit V. Svaminatha Aiyar's note at p. 135 of his edition of the Puranāṇūru, which I have followed. I may add that the king starved, sword in hand, to indicate the disgrace he had sustained on the field. Puram 65 purports to be a strictly contemporary reference to events; Aham 55 clearly refers to them as in the past, but is very valuable as corroborating the Puram stanza. Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar's doubts on this head (Tamils p. 337) seem to be somewhat misplaced.

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Uruvappahrēr - ilanjētcenni (l. 130). He inherited the right to his estate while he was in his mother's womb, (l. 132, tāy vayirrirundu dāyam eydi)—a statement which the annotator Naccinārkkinivar interprets as meaning that Karikāla's birth was delayed by unnatural means, and that he was retained in his mother's womb until the auspicious moment came for his being delivered. The battle of Venni in which he defeated two great kings (Pandya and Cera) on the same field is narrated in some detail (ll. 141-48). For the rest, the poem describes at length the liberality of Karikala and the fertility of the Kāvēri country and other matters of no immediate concern to this study. The clause mudiyor * avai puku poludirram pakai muran selavum (ll. 187-8) must, however, be noted specially here. It occurs in the general description of Karikāla's rule and is, in itself, simple enough if we understand it to mean that the older men laid aside their differences when they entered the sabha of the king, or, if the alternative reading 'solarum' of the last word is accepted,-that the older men went to the sabha to state their disputes (and get them adjudged). Here again the annotator sees an allusion to the tradition † that a young Cola king, dressed himself as an old man, and surprised by his correct judgment two greyhaired litigants who laid their cause before him. It may be observed in passing that the words in our poem, taken in their context, do not clearly mention any dispute or its settlement by the king; whereas the traditional stanza of the Palamoli and the reference in the Manimekalai contain no mention of Karikāla.

^{*}This word is an antithesis to *Ilaiyor* (young folk) of the preceding clause. Pandit Svaminatha Aiyar notes an alternative reading 'Solavum' for the last word, in this clause

[†] Palamoli No. 6 (ed. T. Chelvakēšavarāya Mudaliar). Also Maņimēkalai IV II. 107-8. Neither of these texts gives the name of the king.

- (b) Pattinappālai. A poem of 301 lines by Kadivalūr Uruttirangannanār. It contains gorgeous descriptions of the land of the Kaveri and of Kavirippumpattinam in particular, and mentions incidentally some occurrences of the life and rule of Karikala, here called Tirumāvaļavan (l. 299). In a vivid passage replete with striking similes (ll. 220-8) the poet tells us how Karikāla in his youth was imprisoned by his enemies and effected his escape after a tough fight with the guards of his prison and thereby made himself master of the kingdom. Besides giving a vague general account of Karikāla's prowess in war and the devastation of enemy countries that was a marked feature of his work as conqueror, the poet tells us that among those subjugated by Karikala were the many Olivar, the ancient Aruvālar, the Northerners and the Westerners and the Pandya; while the petty chieftains of the shepherd class and of the line of Irungovel were stamped out by him. He is believed to have given up Uraiyūr and shifted his capital elsewhere. though he took care to renew and fortify that city afresh (ll. 285-8).
- (c) Venbā No. 3 quoted at end of (a) * Karikāla's sway failed to measure the three worlds but was confined only to this, as his leg had suffered from fire, an allusion to the Dwarf incarnation of Visnu.
- III. Ahanāṇūru. This is an anthology of amatory lyrics which contain only passing and often somewhat far-fetched allusions to political events, contemporary or otherwise.
- (a) No. 55.—A reference to the battle of Vennivāyil as a past event, cf. ante n, on I(b)

^{*} This verse is not from the *Palamoli* as Dr. S. K. Aiyangar seems to think—See his *Ancient India* p. 351 n. 2.

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- (b) No. 125.—"Like the cowardly kings who, unable to face the might of Peruvala-kkarikāl, abandoned their nine umbrellas in broad daylight at Vākai-pparandalai."
- (c) No. 141.—" The famous Karikāl victorious in war who fixed up the Śelkuḍi" (see later)
- (d) No. 246. "Greater than the uproar in Alundür on the day when at the gates of Venni the famous Karikāla roused to great fury inflicted a crushing defeat on his enemies in which eleven Vēļir fell together with (some) kings."
 - (e) No. 376.—Mentions the name of the king.
- IV. Silappadikāram:—In the text of this beautiful romantic poem we have three clear references to Karikāla and the annotators discover four others elsewhere in the poem. It would be obviously desirable to keep the text and the annotations apart. First, the relevant passages in the text are:—
- (a) Canto V, Il. 90-104. Tirumāvaļavaņ (Karikāla) who was eager for war and found no match for him in the Tamil land, once upon a time (annāļ l. 94) undertook an invasion of the northern countries as far as the Himalayas and obtained certain presents from the kings of the Vajra, Magadha and Avanti countries.
- (b) Canto VI, ll. 159-60. Karikāl-vaļavaņ is said to have performed a ceremonial bath in the freshet of the Kāvēri, attended by a great crowd.
- (c) Canto XXI, ll. 11-ff. The daughter of Karikāla, the Cola king, saw her husband, the ruler of Vanji, being washed away while they were both bathing; and, going after him in the flood, she rescued

him miraculously. This story occurs in the midst of a series of legends of chaste women of the past and the miracles effected by them. *

We may now turn to the statements of the annotators of the Silappadikāram on Karikāla.

- (d) Canto III. l. 11—means literally "In order to exhibit (Mādavi's dance) to the king with the hero's anklet (kaļal)"; and the earlier of the two commentaries gives the annotation: "desiring to have the first exhibition (of dance) in the sabha of the Cōļa Karikārperuvaļattām who had the hero's anklet." The later annotator Aḍiyārkkunallār follows this hint not only in this context, but extends it to others e.g., canto i. ll. 65-8; v. 212 and vi. 15. It must be noted, however, that there is nothing in the text to warrant these comments which create the impression that the story of the poem is laid in the period of Karikāla's rule. And this is contrary to the indications furnished by the text of the Śilappadikāram.
- V. Maņimēkalai:—Canto I, l. 39. "As on the day when king Karikāla went forth", apparently on his Northern campaign as related in the Śilappadikāram (IV. (a) ante). It must be noticed that this brief reference is also clearly to events in the past.
- VI. Palamoli.—(a) Verse No. 6.—See ante II (a). Only the commentary gives the name of Karikāla, not the Venbā.
- (b) Verse No. 230. The text records that an elephant from Kalumalam went and chose a man from Karuvūr for the kingship. The commentary sees in this incident a reference to Karikāla's accession.

See Pandit Svaminatha Aiyar's note at p. 488 of the Silappadikāram for other references to the story.

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(c) Verse No. 239. The text has simply: "The Cola's son who escaped with his life from a fire got the aid in later life of a man named Pidarttalai, and held the sceptre with success." The gloss of an anonymous commentator on this verse runs: "Even Karikāla who in his youth, though consigned to flames by his enemies, managed to escape with his life, obtained the aid of his (maternal) uncle, Irumbidarttalaiyār by name, * and, later in his life, attained the monarchy which was his by right and ruled as a just king."

Before leaving the evidence drawn from early Tamil literature and proceeding to set down that of later literature and epigraphy, it may be desirable to indicate our general position regarding the chronology and the relative value of the sources so far reproduced. The general question of the age of the earliest extant Tamil literature has been so often discussed that it is unnecessary again to pursue the subject here. My view is that this literature belongs to the early centuries of the christian era, and it rests not so much on the Gajabāhu synchronism, which in itself is quite a sound one, † as on general considerations arising out of a comparison of the political and economic conditions in Southern India as reflected in this body of literature with what we learn on the same subject from European

^{*} This seems to be the only evidence of the relation here mentioned between Karikala and Irumbidarttalai. It is strange that a scholar like Mr. K. V. Subramania Aiyar should have used such a statement as evidence of chronology (See his *Ancient Dekkan*, p. 107).

⁺ Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar (History of the Tamils p. 38) holds that the reading 'Kāval vēndan' at Śil. XXX 1. 160 destroys all theories based on the synchronism. I do not think so. The prologue still remains, and it seems to be the earliest account we possess of the coming in of the Pattini cult into Ceylon where it has prevailed to this day. See Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register Vol. X, ii, pp. 114 ff.

classical sources like the Periplus and Ptolemy, and from the early Buddhist literature.

The question of the internal chronology of the literature of early Tamil has unfortunately not received as much attention as it deserves. But there seems to be no reason to doubt either the priority of much of the Purananaru to the poems preserved in the other anthologies and to the twin epics the Śilappadikāram and the Manimekalai, or the claim registered in the colophons to most of these poems that they were contemporary compositions of poets dealing with particular situations to which they were eye-witnesses. There is nothing of the conventional about these poems, each of which is a living realistic picture of a genuine human situation. It seems to me that in these poems we have some of the most genuine records of exceptional interest to the historian of Southern India; and these must be treated as a class apart. Hence the poems of the Purananaru bearing on the subject of this study have been placed in the first group. For the rest, I have sought to group the sources, not strictly in their chronological order—we know yet so little of this-but in the order of their importance and trustworthiness. An attempt has been made throughout to keep clear the distinction between data furnished by the originals and by the glosses on them by latter-day commentators.

We may now bring together the evidence relating to Karikāla from epigraphy and the later literature of Southern India:

VII. The Mālēpāḍu plates of Puṇyakumāra * (ll. 2-5) say: "Dinakara-kula-mandarācala-mandāra - pādapasya

^{*} E. I. XI. No. 35.

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kavēra-tanayā - velōllaṅghana-praśamana- pramukhā-dyanekātišaya - kāriņah Trairājya - sthiti - mātmasātkṛtavatah karikālasyānvaye", meaning "In the family of Karikāla, who was the mandara tree on the Mandara mountain viz., the solar race; who was the worker of many wonders like that of controlling the daughter of Kavera. overflowing her banks; who obtained for himself the position of (the headship of the) three kingdoms." These plates have been dated by Mr. Krishna Śastri in the eighth century. They may well be, however, a century earlier than that. * However that may be, they are interesting for two reasons. This is the earliest mention so far known of the connection of Karikāla with any family in the Telugu country. This is also the earliest reference to the flood banks of the Kāvēri. And there is no mention yet of Trinetra Pallava.

VIII. The genealogy (legendary part) in the Cola Copper-Plates and the Kanyākumāri record (Vijayālaya line):—

- (a) The Anbil plates of Sundara Cola give the order Senni, Killi, Karikala, Koccenganan (verse 13) and mention only the name of Karikala.
- (b) The Tiruvālangādu plates of Rājēndra I place Karikāla between Perunarkilli and Kōccenganān and furnish two explanations of the king's name in the words—'Kālatvāt karinām kaleśca,' besides mentioning his rebuilding of Kāncī (Kāncīm yaśca navīcakāra kanakaiḥ) and the construction of the banks of the Kāvēri.

^{*} See Dr. N. Venkataramanayya—A note on the Date of the Matepadu plates—Madras Christian College Magazine 1929 p. 15. Also Mysore Archaeological Report, 1925 p. 86 l. 26.

- (c) The larger Leyden grant (v. 11) gives his name after Panacapa and before Kōccengaṇān; it calls him also Arikāla and mentions the construction of the Kāvērītīra.
- (d) The Kanyākumāri (stone) inscription of Vīrarājēndra devotes two verses to him, giving his name between Perunarkkilli and other famous kings before him, and Vaļabha immediately after. Verse 48 is a general praise of Karikāla's prowess, interesting only for the phrase samutthitaripu-kṣitipāla-kālah—'Death to hostile monarchs up in arms (against him).' The next verse (49) runs:

sa kāvērī-ndūrīkṛta-sakala-sasyām vidadhatīm payaḥ - pūraiḥ - sphārai - ravani - mavinītoddhatiharaḥ t pratīrībhūtābhir-narapati-karāśliṣṭa-piṭaka-

prakīrņābhir - mṛdbhir - nyaruṇa-daruṇāgrēsara -samaḥ 🏾

That is to say, * "(Karikāla) who was as bright as the sun and who curbed the pride of the insubordinate, controlled the Kāvērī—which, by its excessive floods, caused the earth to be deprived of its produce—by means of a bund formed of earth thrown in baskets carried in hand by (enemy) kings."

These records of the 10 and 11th centuries A. D. call for a few remarks in passing. Karikāla's connection with Kāncī is first mentioned in (b); and so also (d) first sets forth the story of Karikāla employing enemy kings in the construction of the embankment of the river. But even in the elaborate verse 49 of (d) we find no mention of Pallava Triņētra.

[•] The translation is that of Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, T. A. S. III pp. 154-5 slightly altered.

Kalingattupparani:—A poem describing the conquest of Kalinga in the days Kulottunga I. author Jayangondar gives in the eighth section of the work the genealogy of the kings, which opens with the statement that when Karikala had by superhuman exploits won a victory over the Himalayas and subdued them, Nārada appeared before him and ordained that he should write on the mountain the story of his race as revealed to him by the sage (vv. 1-4). We learn from a stray Venbā* quoted by Adiyārkkunallār that the Sendu, whatever it was, with which Karikala managed to spin the Himalaya round and round, was a gift vouchsafed to him by a Sattan (a guardian deity) of Kancipuram. The narration of Narada includes the story of Karikāla as well as that of his predecessors and successors up to Jayadhara. Stress should not, however, be laid on the superhuman element in this narration, as it may be only a poetic device of the author suited to the conventions of the Parani. But the quaint reference to Karikāla's conquest of the Himalaya recalls the lines of the Śilappadikāram on his northern expedition.—IV (a). Karikāla's conquest of the Pandya and the Cera, an enigmatic statement on the construction of the banks of the Kaveri subordinate kings, the conquest of Kurumi and the presentation of 16,00,000 gold pieces to the poet of the Pattinappālai occur among the events of his reign (vv 19-21). The next verse (22) on the Cera and the Pandva being made alternately torch-bearers in the court is also to be referred apparently to the same reign.

Here, the verse on the construction of the embankment of the Kāvēri must be considered somewhat

^{*} Śilappadikāram, V 15-8 comment.

closely. Mr. Kanakasabhai translated the verse thus: * "Mukari was destroyed when he rubbed it out of the map, finding that it did not suit the place prepared for the banks of the Kaveri which were being constructed by vassal kings." This ingenious translation is open to many objections. It seems to import the details of modern engineering practices such as drawing maps and plans into the days of Karikala. It does violence to the actual words in the verse which imply that Mukari did not follow up something or somebody (todara vandidā mukari), and then a picture was asked to be drawn of Mukari (vandidā mukariyai ppadatteluduka); the action that was taken afterwards consisted in something being wiped out in the picture, most probably an extra eye (idu mikaikkan) which resulted in a similar consequence to the object represented by the picture. † Lastly, Mr. Kanakasabhai's interpretation ignores the literary tradition on the subject which waxes strong from this time that a three-eyed king lost his superfluous eye in this episode, as will be seen from what follows:-

X The Ulās of Oṭṭakkūttan:—(a) Vikrama solan ulā ll. 24-6:

tellaruvic-

cennippuliyēriruttik-kiri tirittup-

pomnikkarai-kanda pūpatiyum—a brief reference to the turning of the Himalayas and the making of the Kāvēri banks.

(b) Kulōttungaśōlan ulā-ll. 34-6, talaiyēru

mankonda ponnikkaraikatta vārādān

kaṇ-koṇḍa śeṇṇi karikālaṇ; that is, 'the $c\bar{o}$ ļa Karikāla who took the eye of him who did not come

^{*} I. A. XIX p. 331.

⁺ Cf. Mr. T. G. Aravamuthan : The Kaveri, the Maukharis and the Sangam Age.

to raise the Kāvēri banks which took the earth carried on the heads (of subordinate kings)." *

(c) Rājarājaśōlan-ulā ll. 32-4: a statement that a king (Karikāla) branded with his tiger-crest the strong chests of his foes and the slopes of the northern Mēru.

These extracts from the triad of $ul\bar{a}s$, specially (b), show distinctly that in the stanza from the Parani (VIII 20) we have clearly one of the earliest statements, if not the earliest, about the three-eyed foe of Karikala. He is called Mukari in the Parani, and an elaborate attempt † has been made to connect him with the Maukharis of Northern India on the strength of the northern expedition of Karikala to which the Silappadikāram makes such detailed reference. Great as is the value of some of the results obtained by Mr. T. G. Aravamuthan in the course of his investigation, his conjecture about the identity of Mukari and Maukhari would seem to lack enough support. The weakness of his argument on this head is recognised by the author himself. # We have evidence of a clan of Mankharis in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B. C. and of a line of kings, Maukharis, from the 5th or the 6th century A. D. There is nothing but surmise to guide us in the great stretch of time that intervenes. the Silappadikāram which gives the earliest detailed account of Karikala's northern expedition makes no mention of Mukari though it knows about a king of Magadha who was subjugated by the southern ruler, it is difficult, on the evidence of an obscure stanza in a work of the late 11th century A. D., to take him

^{*} Cf. No. 55 of the much later Rangesa Venbū quoted by Mr. T. G. Aravamuthan op. cit pp. 18-9.

[†] Mr. T. G. Aravamuthan op. cit.

¹ op. cit. p. 57.

to have been a Maukhari of the I or II century A. D. On the other hand, there is no lack of other literary evidence from the Tamil and Telugu countries that establishes conclusively the identity of Mukari of the *Paraņi* with the Mukkaņţi or Triņētra who figures in Telugu epigraphy as the contemporary of Karikāla in the celebrated formula:—

caraṇa-sarōruha-vihata-vilōcana-Trilōcana -pramukhā-khila-prthivīśvara-kārita kāvērī-tīra-karikāla-kula.

XI. Kulottungan Pillaittamil is a fine poem on Kulottunga II by Ottakkuttan, a poet of the 12th century and the author of the ulas already noticed (X). In this poem we read:

mulu-kula-nadikkarasar mudikodu vakutta karai mukiroda-vamaitta-darivō-

miru-puramu-mokka ninadoru puli porikka vada-vimagiri tirittadarivo-

mikal mukari mukkanilu-moru kaniliya-kkiliyileludu-kanalitta-darivom

"We know of the raising up to the clouds of the banks made for the full family-river by the crowns of (subordinate) kings; we know of the spinning of the snow-mountain of the north for engraving on either side of it your unrivalled tiger-crest; we know of the wiping out of one eye traced on the picture so that the inimical Mukari lost one of his three eyes."

This passage which so strikingly recalls the Karikāla legends recorded in the Kalingattu-pparaņi and which is written by a poet laureate of the Cola court, of the generation next to that of the author of

^{*} The Tamil-ppolil (Tanjore) Vol. V. p. 39.

the *Paraņi*, furnishes an excellent comment on the earlier work at this point, and settles the true meaning of the verse from the *Paraņi*.

XII. The Periyapurāņam of Śēkkilār of the time of Kulottunga II mentions Karikāla's renovation of Kāncīpuram in the Kaliyuga by fortifying it afresh and encouraging people to immigrate and settle in the new city: see Tirukkuripputtoņda-nāyanār Purāņam v. 85.

XIII. The Paṇḍitārādhya carita, a Telugu Śaiva work of perhaps the early 13th century, gives virtually the same story as the Paraṇi with slight variations and the relevant passage has been reproduced and translated by Dr. N. Venkata Ramanayya at pp. 88-9 of his Trilōcana Pallava and Karikāla Cōļa.*

XIV. Telugu epigraphy — Several inscriptions from various parts of the Telugu country contain the celebrated formula quoted above Carana sarōruha etc. The earliest of these inscriptions is dated Ś. 945 (1023 A. D.) †

As Mr. Krishna Śāstri points out: "Almost all the families of kings and chiefs in the South which trace their origin to the Sun mention Karikāla among their ancestors, and describe him as having constructed banks on either side of the river Kāvēri. The Kākatīyas of Warangal and, in later times, the Matla chiefs of Cuddapah and the Sāļuva chiefs of Kārvēṭinagar and a number of feudatory families who intermarried

^{*} The learned author considers the Telugu version "as old as the passage in the Kalingattupparani." All the Tamil sources under X, XI and XII appear, however, to be earlier than the Panditārādhya carita.

[†] See Dr. N. V. Ramanayya op. cit. pp. 115-6, (item 2). It may be noted that the reference made by the author to the Darsi fragmentary inscription of Vikramāditya I as one referring to Mukkaņţi or Triņētra (No. 1 at pp. 109 and 117) is not warranted by the text of the inscription.

with the Vijayanagara kings of the lunar race, mention Karikāla in their genealogy." * Again: "In a (Telugu) record of the 11th century A. D. from the Bastar state, it is stated that a chief named Candrāditya, a feudatory of the Nāgavamśi king Jagadēkabhūṣaṇa Mahārāja Dhārāvarṣa, was a descendant of Karikāla Cōļa of the solar race, belonged to the Kāśyapa gōtra, was the lord of the river Kāvēri and of the (historic) town of Oraiyūr and bore the lion-crest." †

An example of the persistence and the growth of Karikāla legends in later times is furnished by the copperplate grant dated 1356 A. D. (śāke munyṛṣinētra-candragaṇite) of the Telugu-Cōḍa chief Bhakti-rāja which contains the following about Karikāla: ‡

"arikālastatō jātaḥ Karikālastatōbhavat |
aticitraiḥ caritraiḥ svaiḥ pūrvajānatyaśeta yaḥ ||
asnāsīd-gānga-tōyai-ranudina-mavanī-pālahastakramāttaiḥ

kāverī-setubandhe-nikhila-narapatī-nagrahīdagra-vēṣṭyai I

astambhīd-Bhojarāja-prahita-mapacitē-rbhājanam b(h)andhavīyyam

pādānguṣṭhena bhālē vilasita-mabhidat-pallavendrasya netram || "

We notice here that Arikāla, in the Leyden grant an attribute of Karikāla, has now become the name of a new king, the father of Karikāla, ¶ and the daily bath of the king in the water of the Ganges transmitted by the

[•] E. I. XI, p. 340 n. 2.

⁺ E. I. XI, p. 338.

¹ Journal of Oriental Research, V. pp. 138 and 334.

[¶] Cf. Hultzsch at S. I. I. II 378 n 8.

hands of his vassals is a new embellishment of the old motif of the vanquished kings working at Karikāla's tasks like common labourers. The story of the loss of the third eye of the Pallava king is repeated. We may, before proceeding to discuss the interesting and difficult questions that arise in connection with Karikāla and his life, mention briefly the data furnished by literary compositions of more recent times.

XV. The Navacolacarita. * This work is part of the hagiology of Vīra-Śaivism. Composed originally in Hala-kannada, the work was rendered into Telugu verse by Posetti Linganna-kavi in the fourteenth century. The story of Karikāla which figures first in these 'Tales of the Nine Colas' is thus summarised by the editor of the Telugu original in his preface: † "While Karikāla, an ardent devotee of Siva, was ruling the country with unrivalled power, one day he went out for a hunt in the forest on the banks of the Kāvēri and was resting a while in a lovely spot. Then there occurred a wonderful event which brought home to the king's mind the great merit of the Kaveri; having witnessed it the king thought that he should raise the banks on either side of the river and dig a tank and earn for himself the religious merit thereof. So he sent for his Sāmantas (subordinate chiefs) from the various parts of the realm for carrying out the work and all of them came up, with the exception of Bhāskara-Cola and Mukkanti Coda and others who held themselves back on account of their noble birth and other like reasons. The king undertook a dandauātrā (expedition) against them, conquered them and took them captives and compelled them to work on the

^{*} See Wilson's Mackenzie Collection p. 273.

[†] Navacolacarita (Tel.) Andhra-patrika Press, Madras (1923) pp. 8-9.

construction of the banks of the Kāvēri until the task was completed." Though sufficient for our purpose, this bald summary does but scant justice to the elaborate and eloquent narration of the original which includes some stories well-known in other connections such as that of Siva working as a day-labourer for an old woman. *

XVI. The Colavamsacaritra or the Brhadisvara māhātmya, a work of the 16th century A.D. or thereabout, narrates at great length the story of Karikāla's black leprosy being cured by his construction of the celebrated Tanjore temple and even reports the very words of the Brhadīsāṣṭaka, a hymn of praise uttered by the grateful king at the moment of his miraculous relief from a fell disease. †

XVII. The Śōlamaṇḍalaśatakam: Verse 38 of this work mentions the construction of the banks of the Kāvēri and of a stone anicut across the river by a Cōla king; and a veṇbā found in some mss. of this work purports to give a date for Karikāla's construction of the bank. But partly owing to its corrupt readings, this verse can furnish little aid in a discussion of the history of Karikāla. ‡

XVIII. The Sevvandippurāṇam \(\Pi - \alpha \) late seventeenth century work, gives a story which states that Karikāla, the son of Parāntaka, was brought by the state-elephant for being enthroned in the Cola kingdom at a time when Uraiyūr was destroyed in a sandstorm.

The familiar Tamil story of Piţţukku-man-sumandadu. See Tiruvilaiyādal purānam—any edition.

[†] See Journal of Oriental Research: Vol. IV, pp. 324 ff.

See, however, T. G. Aravamuthan op. cit. pp. 67 ff.

[¶] See the purāṇam (ed. Shanmukham Pillai, Madras, 1887) Uraiyūralitta Sarukkam vv. 91-93.

One new element in the story is that the elephant found the boy prince too heavy, and that to reduce his weight his mother was advised by a saint to make a mark on the soles of his feet with a piece of charcoal, and then the elephant lifted him up on his back and carried him away without difficulty. A variant of the same story is given by one of the Mackenzie mss. and noticed at some length by Taylor in his Catalogue Raisonne.*

The data thus brought together from many sources bearing on the subject of this study are calculated to give an idea of the different phases through which the Karikāla legend, so to say, passes in the course of centuries. The figure of Karikāla is to start with thoroughly realistic and historical; there is nothing about it that taxes our credulity or violates our sense of congruity; but soon legend begins its busy work and there comes in much that is not only unhistorical and romantic, but incredible, unnatural and superhuman. The streams of legend flow from many sources, in the Tamil and Telugu countries, till at last the figure of Karikāla is submerged in the sea of religious mythology. The legends are not altogether devoid of interest to the student of folklore and hagiology. For our purpose, however, it is essential that each incident that seeks admission into the history of Karikāla's life and reign must be tested very carefully with reference to the source from which it proceeds and the general probabilities of the case. The performance of this task becomes doubly difficult, if we bear in mind the limitations to our knowledge of the general chronology of South Indian history. Whatever view is held of the age of Sangam literature—our view of

^{*} Vol. III, pp. 514-5.

it has been stated elsewhere—it should not be allowed to influence unduly the discussion of the evidence relating to particular events of Karikāla's reign on the lines suggested above.

From the strictly contemporary statements on Karikāla in the sources grouped under I and II above, we learn that Karikāla was the son of Ilanjētcenni; that, as a young man, he fell into the hands of his enemies who kept him in confinement and that he gained his freedom by his own daring exertions; that he was great alike in war and peace, and in the patronage he gave to learning and poetry; that he performed Vedic sacrifices; that he fought at Venni where he wounded his Cera contemporary in the back, and also defeated the Pandya king; that he renovated the inland city of Uraiyur, and was master of the sea-port at the mouth of the Kāvēri and that his sway extended over the Olivar, the Aruvalar, the Northerners and the Westerners and the Pandya, as well as the territory of the petty chiefs of the shepherd class and of the line of Irungovel. Except for the indefinite statement about the Westerners and the Northerners which, on its face, is a mere embellishment and should not be pressed far, there is nothing in this account that is improbable and this picture of the reign may be accepted as true. The Olivar, the Aruvalar, the shepherds and the line of Irungovēl, the Pāndya and the Cēra are all well-known tribes and dynasties of the Tamil country, and it is quite possible that an ambitious Cola monarch made the strength of his arm felt by them.

The commentator Naccinārkkiniyar, who wrote in the 14th century or later, says * that Karikāla's mother was a daughter of an Alundūr Vēl and that

^{*} Tolkāppiyam Porul Sūtra 30-mannar pāngir etc.

his wife was another Vēlir lady from Nāngūr. He cites no authority, but considering the contemporary references to the Vēls in Karikāla's time, we may perhaps accept these statements as recording a genuine tradition.

Of Karikāla's children we have little definite knowledge. Mr. Kanakasabhai was clearly wrong in making Narcōṇai (the mother of Śeṅguṭṭuvaṇ) the daughter of Karikāla.* Paṇḍit M. Rāghava Aiyangar holds † that both Uraiyūr and Puhār were under Karikāla and that after his death, his sons Maṇakkiḷḷi and Vēr-pahraḍakkai Peru-virar-kiḷḷi became rulers respectively of Uraiyūr and Puhār. But as he himself admits, there does not appear to be any direct evidence either for the relationship suggested, or for the division of the kingdom.

It has been held that the father of Karikāla‡ died_as a crown prince—a view based entirely on his name Ilanjēṭceṇṇi. Karikāla's troubles in early life, his imprisonment by his enemies and his heroic escape and even the great battle of Veṇṇi are often ascribed to his father's early death. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar observes that there are a number of Karikāla's predecessors mentioned in the Śangam works; "but in our present state of knowledge of these it would be hazardous to attempt arranging them on any scheme, either genealogical or successional." Yet he says immediately after this: "Karikāla's grandfather would appear to be Vērpahradakkai Perunarkkilli"; and on this assumption he writes: "The father died a prince and the

^{*} See Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar- Stran Senguttuvan 2nd edn. p. 106 n

⁺ lbid p. 101

[†] Mr. K. V. Subramania Aiyar identifies him with Neydalanganal Ilanjetcenni (I. A. 41 p. 147) who seems to have been a different person altogether.

[¶] Ancient India p. 92.

grandfather fell in battle and so the grandson was left, when quite a young boy, heir to the throne of a kingdom not in the enjoyment of peace. Nor were causes wanting for civil dissensions. Young Karikāla found himself a fugitive at Karūr after the disastrous battle in which his grandfather fell along with his Cera enemy. It was from here that he was fetched to ascend the throne by the state elephant from Kalumalam (Shiyali)". Here we have a typical example of the blending of information drawn from history and legend that has played a conspicuous part in the treatment of the reign of this early Cola king. difficult to choose between the two assumptions quoted from two writers that Verpahradakkai-pperunarkkilli* was the son of Karikala and that he was his grandfather. The fact is that his proximity to Karikala in point of time is attested by the poet Kalāttalaiyār having composed songs both about him and the Cera contemporary of Karikala who committed suicide in expiation of his cowardice at Venni, If we accept the suggestion that Perunarkkilli was of the generation after Karikāla, we have also to accept that the Cola war of the Ceras, of which we have one phase in the battle of Venni in Karikala's reign, was continued in later times; and also that Senguttuvan the son of the opponent of Perunarkkilli was later than Karikāla by a period of not less than half a century, and perhaps more. If, on the other hand. following Dr. S. K. Aiyangar's view, we take Perunarkkilli to be earlier than Karikāla, we are led naturally to the conclusion that Karikāla was much nearer in point of time to Senguttuvan and perhaps his contemporary. But then we get into some new difficulties on

^{*} Puram 62, 63 and 368 make it clear that he is the same as Peruvirankilli with the same attribute.

this assumption. What is the relation between Nedum-Sēral-Ādan who fell in the same field as Perunarkkilli and Perunieral Adan the opponent of Karikala himself at Venni? How long did the latter rule, if at all, and what is the interval between the battle in which Karikāla's grandfather fell and that of Venni? what is the relation between Perunjeral Adan and Senguttuvan? Lastly, how are we to account for the fact that the Silappadikāram which purports to be written in the reign of Senguttuvan mentions the events of the reign of Karikāla as having taken place in some remote past? For it is impossible, in the face of the statements in the Śilappadikāram about Karikāla's reign analysed under IV above, to accept Dr. S. K. Aiyangar's plea that Karikāla was ruling in Puhār and was an eyewitness to the early stages in the romance of Kovalan and Kannagi. * The data from the Silappadikāram and the poems of Kalāttalaiyār on the whole seem to favour the view that Perunarkkilli came later than Karikāla rather than before him.

The statements that Karikāla found himself a fugitive at Karūr after the death of his father and grandfather, and that he was fetched from there by the state elephant from Kalumalam † to ascend the Cōla throne, rest solely on the authority of the commentary to Palamoli No. 230 (VI b). The Palamoli, though it figures in the traditional lists of the eighteen minor anthologies of Sangam poetry, is, like some others in that group, a work of uncertain age; and its commentary must, in any case, be a late work which can hardly be accepted, in the absence of any satisfactory evidence to that effect, as a reliable authority on the

^{*} See Ancient India pp. 350-1 and P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar Tamils pp. 375-9.

[†] It may be noted, in passing, that Kalumalam may be not Shiyali, but another place of the same name near Karūr.

events of the reign of Karikala. Moreover, the choice of a king at critical times by the people setting an elephant at large and trusting to its sagacity, is too common a motif in legends * for us to accept it as a historical fact relating to any particular king. On this view, there is nothing in favour of the supposition that Karikāla was imprisoned at Karūr; in fact, there is no hint in the Palamoli of a man being taken out from a prison in Karūr for being put upon the Cola throne. On the other hand, the Pattinappālai, while it does not disclose the identity of the enemies of Karikāla's youth, makes it clear that Karikāla not only escaped from the prison, but attained the throne by his own exertions, and in this account there is no room for the elephant story. ende Miani

from the two poems in the Pattuppāţţu on the circumstances attending Karikāla's accession to the throne seems at first sight to be somewhat conflicting. One of them says that the war-like child of Uruvappahrerilaiyon (the young man with many fine chariots) obtained his right (to the kingdom) from his mother's womb, and carried the burden of the kingdom on his shoulders from the time he learned to crawl as a baby (Porunar. ll. 129-38). The other affirms that like the tiger cub growing up in a cage, Karikāla staved in the prison of his enemies (pigar) until his wounded pride roused him to action, and then, like the elephant effecting its escape from the pit into which it had fallen by filling it up with mud brought down by its tusks in order to join its mate, so also Karikāla by means of wisely laid plans effected his escape after fighting the warders of his prison with his sword, and attained royalty which was his by right. (Pattinappālai 11. 220-227). One statement is common to both the

^{*} ef. e. g. Murtinayanar Puranam.

versions—that the kingdom was Karikala's birth-right; for this is how, as it appears to me, the lines, $t\bar{a}y$ vayirrirundu tāyam eydi' of the Porunarārruppadai and "uru keļu-tāyam-ūļineydi" of the Paţţinappālai must be understood. * One simple way of reconciling the two apparently divergent, but professedly contemporary versions, suggests itself easily. It is that Karikāla inherited his estate as a child; that, for a time, he was kept out of it by the machinations of his elder male relatives perhaps of collateral lines until, aided by his friends, he was able to effect his escape from confinement and make himself king; and that the author of one of these two poems passed over this unhappy incident of the king's youth, or refused to recognise that he had ceased to be king even while he was in prison. On this assumption the enemies of Karikāla would be, not the Ceras or any others who were strangers to the Cola dynasty, but some relatives of Karikāla himself. The tradition of Karikāla having been helped by Pidarttalai, who is described as his maternal uncle in the commentary on the Palamoli verse 239, becomes easy to understand and may be a correct tradition.

To accept some of the traditions incorporated in the Palamoli while rejecting the rest is, it may be remarked in passing, not so illogical or unsound as it may appear. For one thing, in rejecting the story of the elephant raising Karikāla to the throne we are influenced by the facts (1) that the prince from Karūr is identified

^{*} The ingenuity of Naccinarkkiniyar discovers a common legendary motif even here, and he makes the suggestion that Karikala was made to await in his mother's womb the arrival of an auspicious hour for his birth. The same story is told in great detail of Koccenganan in the Periyapuranan and, I believe, of Aditya the son of Parantaka in the Sevvandippuranan. Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar (Tamils p. 338) thinks that "it refers to his (Karikala's) being the posthumous child of Naiyōn"

with Karikala, not by the text of the Palamoli but its commentary; and (2) that the evidence of strictly contemporary writers is clear that Karikala's escape from prison and his accession were brought about by his own exertions, aided perhaps by his friends from outside. Here, on the other hand, we have a fact mentioned in the text (not the commentary) of the Palamoli viz., that Pidarttalai aided Karikala in winning the sceptre; and we also find that the identity of the king is indicated unmistakably by the mention of the accident from fire which occurred early in Karikala's life. And the new fact supplied by this verse fits in satisfactorily with the rest of the story as given by other, perhaps earlier, writers. Whether, as the annotator says, Pidarttalai was the maternal uncle of Karikala, and whether he was the same person as the poet Irumbidarttalaiyar of the Puram, are matters which cannot be settled now and do not have any direct bearing on the history of Karikāla. It should, however, be noticed that this verse from the Palamoli confirms the oldest explanation we get of the name Kari-kalan, 'the man with the charred leg,' by making it the result of an accident from fire in his early life. But there is nothing to support the suggestion sometimes made that the prince met with this accident in his endeavour to get the kingdom. * Later explanations of the name Karikala such as "Death to elephants," and "Death to Kali" and the story of the mother making a charcoal mark on the soles of the prince to enable the elephant to lift him up easily are not entitled to any weight, at any rate, with reference to this early king Karikāla.

The results of this discussion of the incidents relating to the early life of Karikāla then seem to be the following. He inherited the Cōla throne as a boy;

^{*} I. A. Vol. 41 p. 147.

illegitimate attempts were made by his relatives, for a time successfully, to keep him out of his birthright; by his own ingenuity and strength, and with the assistance of friends and partisans from outside, among whom may have been a maternal uncle Irumbidarttalai, Karikāla, after some years of confinement in a prison, effected his escape from it and succeeded in making himself king. An early accident from fire which maimed him in the leg for life seems to be rather well attested and to furnish the true explanation of his name.

We have seen that the strictly contemporary sources do not lead us to suppose that Karikāla's sway extended outside the Tamil country. If we may believe the testimony of the contemporary author of the Pattinappālai, Kāncīpuram with the surrounding district of the Tondainad was ruled in Karikala's time by a king called Tondaiman Ilandiraiyan who is praised by him as even superior to the three crowned kings of the Tamil land. * And yet, somehow, this evidence has been either generally ignored, or circumvented by means of fanciful hypotheses. This persistent tendency has, it seems, been the result of some circumstances which have checked the free play of criticism on our sources. First, there has been a general feeling that Karikāla whose name looms so large in later times must have been a great and powerful king. Thus we are assured by one modern author † that Karikala "was certainly one of the most powerful Cola kings that ruled from the city (of Puhar) and his name is even to the present day known throughout the Tamil country, and even in the Telugu districts (as) that of a great monarch who looked to the welfare of the subjects entrusted to his care and as a patron of letters." Then, it has been the

^{*} Perumbanarruppadai 11. 32-5

[†] I. A. Vol. 41, p. 145.

rule for a long time to accept all the statements in the Silappadikāram about Karikāla as a contemporary account of the transactions of his reign. Again, great confusion has resulted from mixing up the origin of the family of the Tiraiyar as given by Naccinarkkiniyar in his gloss on Perumban-arruppadai l. 31 with another legend in the Maņimēkalai which, while it differs in important respects from the story of Naccinarkkiniyar, may yet have suggested to him his celebrated comment on the origin of the Tiraiyar. However that may be, the connection between the Tiraiyar and the Colas rests on the sole authority of Naccinarkkiniyar. There is nothing in the poem Perumban to justify this explanation. And even Naccinārkkiņiyar only talks vaguely of the 'Cola of Nagapattinam' as the progenitor of the Tiraiyar and does not bring either Karikala or any known relation of his into the story. Lastly, the statements in the Cola charters and inscriptions of the Vijayalaya line and in the Telugu Coda inscriptions of the 12th century and later have had a large share, on account of their persistence and universality, in disarming criticism. It seems necessary, therefore, to examine somewhat more carefully the nature of the evidence for some of the events usually recorded in the history of Karikāla's reign. This may be done under some convenient heads: his connection with Kancipuram, his Northern Expedition, his contemporaneity with Trilocana-Pallava and the construction of the embankment of the Kāvēri.

Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai says: * "His (Karikāla's) kingdom extended beyond Kāncīpuram, which town he enlarged and beautified," and even more emphatically, Mr. K. V. Subramania Aiyar: † "Karikāla ruled from

^{*} The Tamils 1800 years ago p. 67.

[†] I. A. 41 p. 146.

Kanci which he made new with gold." Neither gives the source on which he bases the statement. Aivangar is more cautious on the subject; * apparently inclining to the same view, he does not commit himself to a categorical statement that Karikāla held Kāncī or renewed that city. Under his successors Kanci passed under the Killis (Colas) as the Manimekalai testifies; but that is altogether another matter. Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar writes: † "Kanakasabhai assumes that Ilandiraiyan usurped the throne of Kanci during Karikāla's boyhood; but as there is absolutely no evidence for the statement, it deserves no consideration." We agree. But he proceeds, "it is but a bad guess and no more. As Ilandiraiyan was a contemporary of Karikāla, he must have been appointed ruler of Kāncī after Karikāla's conquest of the place and continued so after Karikāla's death." So the flaw in Mr. Kanakasabhai's position is not that he was guessing, but that he did not guess like some one else. Now all that we know of Ilandiraiyan is what the Perumban tells us. We have already remarked that in this poem the same poet sings the praise of Ilandiraiyan with quite as much eclat as he does that of Karikāla in the Paţṭiṇappālai, and even says that the Tiraiyan was superior to the three crowned kings of the Tamil Country. Surely, the guess that he usurped Kāncī when Karikāla was a baby is by no means less plausible than the one that he 'must have been appointed ruler of Kanci after his conquest of the place.' For our part we have already indicated our position. We prefer to reject both these guesses alike and to treat Ilandiraiyan and Karikala as contemporary rulers of neighbouring states, which is the normal

^{*} Ancient India pp. 92-4 and 349 ff.

⁺ Tamils p. 397.

conclusion that flows from the facts set forth in the two poems in the Pattuppāṭṭu by a single poet. *

If Karikāla conquered Kāncī, is it not strange that we should hear nothing of it in the whole range of early Tamil literature and have to wait till we come to the late epigraphs of the Tamil and Telugu countries and the vague tradition of his having settled colonists imported from outside into the Toṇḍaināḍ that is narrated by Śēkkiļār and other late writers? Except for the lines in the Śilappadikāram which give a highflown account of Karikāla's northern campaign up to the Himalayas and the presents secured by him from the kings of Magadha, Vajra and Avanti, there is nothing whatever in the early literary references to Karikāla to suggest that his conquests extended beyond the area indicated by the lines of the Paṭṭṇappālai summarised above under II (b)

The account of the northern campaign that is given in the Śilappadikāram has been treated differently by different writers. Messrs. Kanakasabhai and Subramania Aiyar and Dr. S. K. Aiyangar are inclined to stress the fact that Karikāla was on terms of friendship with and received presents from the kings of distant countries in Northern India, and to ignore the military side of the expedition which is not less striking in the lines of Śilappadikāram. Mr. Kanakasabhai says:† "He is said to have been on terms of friendship with the kings of Avanti, Vajra and Magadha. Later poets in their dreamy eulogies of this great king credit him with the feat of having carried his arms up to the

^{*} Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, who holds that Ilandiraiyan was a grandson of Karikala, says: 'This lucky author lived on to celebrate another patron, Tondaman Ilandiraiyan of Kanci, of a later generation.' Ancient India p. 94.

[†] The Tamils 1800 years ago p. 67. See also I. A. Vol. 41 p. 146-7; and Ancient India p. 94.

golden Meru and planted his tiger standard on the summit of that mountain which is spoken of in Indian legends as the centre of the earth." But in saying this and in implying that the Kalingattupparani (IX) is the first of the 'dreamy eulogies' of later poets, he has overlooked the direct statements in the Silappadikāram that Karikāla went to fight in the northern region as he had no foes left in the Tamil country, and that he engraved his tiger-mark on the slopes of the Himalayas. On the other hand, Mr. T. G. Aravamuthan * accepts the statements of the Silappadikāram as literally true, and makes them the basis of his learned essay on the age of the Sangam. His essay has one merit. It does not pass lightly, as other writers have done, over the difficulties involved in our accepting the story, but faces them squarely and attempts to solve most of them. It is not possible, nor is it necessary, for us to traverse the field covered by the essay.

It is enough to observe that as he accepts the view that Karikāla and Śenguṭṭuvan were close in point of time, † the testimony of the Śilappadikāram carries with him the weight of an almost contemporary document. In fact the evaluation of the story of the northern campaign of Karikāla which is given for the first time by the Śilappadikāram will depend on the nature of our answers to three questions: How long after Karikāla did Śenguṭṭuvan rule? Is the Śilappadikāram to be accepted as genuine, i. e., as the work of Śenguṭṭuvan's brother who renounced the world and became a monk? Lastly, what is the nature of the work? Is it such that all statements made in it can be accepted as literally true? We have already indicated our view that Śenguṭṭuvan came at least half a century after

^{*} op. cit. † op. cit. p. 48.

Karikāla, * if not later. Therefore even if we accept the Silanpadikāram as a genuine work of Ilango Adigal, and there is no reason why we should not, its evidence on the reign of Karikāla would not be entitled to the same weight as its statements on the reign of Senguttuvan. Short as the period may be, many legends can grow up in two generations. Then if we turn to the nature of the work, we shall find much reason to treat the statements in it with the utmost caution. It is admittedly a romance which teems with legends and supernatural incidents. And legends relating to the Cola dynasty have reached in this work a stage somewhat more advanced than what we find in the 'eight anthologies' (ettu-ttokai) of the Sangam. Thus for instance only the story of Sibi protecting the dove, offering his own flesh to a vulture, is known to the earlier poems; the Silappadikāram adds that of Manu executing his son on the chariot wheel. † Moreover, there is a deep political or cultural scheme underlying the structure of the poem. The saintly author makes no secret of the fact that he uses his story as a setting for offering a full and impartial account of the culture and the glory of the three great monarchies of the South. We cannot fail to notice that each of these monarchies is credited with some success or other against the northern Aryan kings. For these reasons it seems to me that unless we have some evidence from early Tamil literature independent of the Silappadikāram on the northern campaign of Karikāla, it would be wise not to treat this part of the story as history. I And no such evidence is forthcoming.

^{*} Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar would put the interval at "at least one century, if not more." op. cit. p. 374

[†] Canto XX II. 51-5.

[‡] Cf. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar *History of the Tamils* p. 366. He seems, however, to assign the *Śilappadikāram* to a much later date than the evidence warrants.

To return to Karikāla's relation to Kāncī, Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar, like us, rejects the account of the Śilappadikāram which makes Karikāla's sway extend into Northern India. But he finds other evidence for the rule of Karikāla over the Pallava country and the Ceded Districts, and it is necessary to examine this briefly. We may remark at the outset that though we may not follow him in his method, we have nothing to oppose to the inferences he draws on this subject from the late Telugu-Coda inscriptions and the Local Records in the Mackenzie Collection. The exact degree of importance that should be attached to such belated testimony to occurrences in a more or less remote past is a matter of opinion; and there is a point, which is reached very soon, beyond which differences on such matters are hardly worth arguing about. We shall confine ourselves to an examination of the evidence cited by Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar from early Tamil literature in support of his view, for it is our main object to disentangle Karikāla as he appears in this literature from the weeds of legend that have grown so thick around him, and to determine the residue of authentic history that is left behind after criticism has done its work.

The word Vadavar (northerners) (in l. 276 of the Pattinappālai) is said * by Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar to refer to the Pallava kings of Kāncī. This is really begging the question, and if this vague reference to northerners is all the evidence that can be cited in support of Karikāla's conquest of Kāncī, we may be excused for not accepting it as an established fact. We require more tangible evidence than this before being called upon to surrender the view, in our opinion the

correct view, that the Pallavas of South Indian epigraphy find no place in the early Tamil Sangam literature. Whether the Tiraiyar of this literature may be connected with the Pallavas of epigraphy, as has sometimes been supposed, is another question which is not germane to this discussion and need not be pursued here; particularly because Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar is clear that they had nothing to do with one another. * It is significant, however, that the Tiraiyar do not figure in the list of Karikāla's subjects in the Pattinappālai, a fact which, if considered together with the evidence on Tondaimān Ilandiraiyan's rule at Kāncī, raises a strong presumption that Kanci was independent of the Colas in Karikāla's time; and our point is that the mere mention of Vadavar in the list of Cola feudatories cannot, by itself, upset this presumption. Then, Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar proceeds: "He (Karikāla) pushed beyond and brought under his sway the Poduva chieftains, who ruled over the Cuddapah and Kurnool districts. The word Poduvar means herdsman chiefs and must refer to the rulers of the pastoral tribes that inhabited the Mullai region north of the Marudam † lands belonging to the Pallavas. The herdsmen brought under Karikāla's sway were Kurumbas, like those who inhabit these districts even to-day, and weave the famous kambalis of that region." He also quotes Aham 141:

> kurum-parai payirrum selkudi-nirutta perum-peyar-kkarikāl vel pērc-cēļan,

which he translates into: "The famous victor, the Sola, Karikāla, protected the families of the Kurumbar who

^{*} op. cit p. 401

⁺ We cannot follow Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar's speculation regarding the regions and cultures in the Tamil country which are not warranted by his sources.

tend (flocks) on the hill-tops." The questions that arise for consideration here are: Who were the Poduvar? What region did they inhabit? Were they identical with the Kurumbar, and does the Ahanānūru mention Karikāla's protection of the Kurumbar? The Poduvar are placed in the Pattinappālai list obviously in the Southern region together with the Pandya and the Irungovel, and appears to refer to the Ay chieftains of the Tinnevelly district. There is no evidence, apart from the surmises about mullai and marudam, not of any considerable value either in themselves or in their present context, in favour of locating the Poduvar in the Cuddapah and Kurnool districts. And it is very unlikely that the Poduvar were the same as the Kurumbar. But what is more to the point, the discovery of a reference to the Kurumbar caste in the lines quoted from the Aham is due entirely to a mistake.* The passage really means nothing more than: "The famous Karikāla, the Cola (king) victorious in fight, who fixed up the selkudi (families about to move out or families in need of relief)." It is very doubtful if 'kurumparai payirrum' properly qualifies śelkudi as it really completes an earlier clause in the poem. Perhaps the occurrence of the words kurumparai with the hard final rai has led to the thought of the Kurumbar ending in the liquid consonant r. We thus see that the evidence cited in support of Karikāla's conquest of Kanci and the districts of Cuddapah and Kurnool is altogether valueless.

We may turn now to consider a little more closely the idea briefly adverted to above that Ilandiraiyan,

[•] It must be noted that even Kanakasabhai seems to have made this mistake. See op. cit. p. 67 and n. 4. His number of the Aham verse 140 occurs in some MSS, though the printed text gives it the number 141. Mr. K. worked altogether from MSS, and had not before him printed texts based on a collation of the MSS.

because he was a contemporary of Karikāla, must have been appointed ruler of Kancī after Karikala's conquest of that place, and presumably by Karikāla himself. Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar's view of the relation between Karikāla and Ilandiraiyan is not without interest in this connection. He rejects rightly, * as it seems to us, the attempt to blend together the story of Killi's missing son by the Naga woman Pilivalai (Manimekalai) and that given by Naccinarkkiniyar, and thus to make Ilandiraiyan a grandson of Karikāla. But in his search for support to his theory of Ilandiraivan's governorship of Kanci under Karikala, he lights on the inscriptions of the Codas of the Telugu country which say that Karikāla had a grandson called Tondamāna, † and he savs: "Ilandiraiyan being the only known Tondaiman of the period is most probably this Tondamana."

Now the inscriptions to which we are referred bear dates in Saka 10 (7) 9 and 1146 corresponding roughly to A. D. 1157 and 1224. In these inscriptions the history of the early Colas has become a full-blown legend. Karikāla's father Jaṭā-Cōḍa was a ruler in Ayōdhyā. One of the three grandsons of Karikāla bears the name Tondamana. This name does not include Ilandiraiyan the distinctive part of the name of the early ruler of Tondaimandalam. The Telugu name Tondamana is a late attempt to explain the name of the country by connecting it with that of an early ruler; similar attempts regarding Pāndya, Cōla and Cēra being three brothers who partitioned the Tamil land among themselves must serve as sufficient guides to the proper treatment to be accorded to such tales. statement is made in an inscription, although it be a

^{*} op. cit. p. 400.

[†] op. cit. pp. 397. ff.

stone inscription, is not always a guarantee of its accuracy; much less can this be the case with statements made in twelfth and thirteenth century inscriptions on events which admittedly occurred, at the latest, in the fourth or fifth century A. D. And is it not curious that a talented scholar who exhibits much critical acumen in his discussion of the views of earlier writers about the relationship between Karikāla and Iļandiraiyan should end by accepting that very relationship, and on such evidence as this?

Possibly conscious, of the flaw in the position, Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar sets forth in quest of more direct evidence from the Perumbanarruppadai on the descent of Tondaiman Ilandiraiyan from the Colas, that is, from Karikāla. "If this Tiraiyan was a chief of the Tondaiyar," he asks, * "how could he have also been the grandson of Karikāla?," and answers: "This could have been if his mother was a Tiraiya (sic Cola?) woman." We expect to hear about the identity of this mother; but we do not. We are told this, however: "That Ilandiraiyan was descended both from the Sola and Tiraiya families is mentioned in the Perumbanarruppadai (ll. 29-36)", and in his translation of these lines all the references to the Solan are introduced within brackets by Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar without the least sanction from the text. Naccinārkkiņiyar indeed, as we have seen, understands the poet's statement that the Tiraiyan was of the family of Visnu as implying that he came from the Cola family, and retails the story of the Cola prince of Negapatam raising the Tondaiyar line by his liaison with the Naga maiden. But the fact remains that the text of the poem only states that the Tiraiyan came of the line of Visnu. All kings are of the line of

Visnu in some sense. The Kauravas and the Calukyas of the lunar race also claimed descent from Visnu. There is no compelling reason to accept that descent from Vișnu must necessarily mean descent from the Cola line. And one can hardly resist the feeling that Naccinārkkiņiyar's gloss at this point is itself reminiscent of the Manimekalai story. Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar rejects the story, but keeps the comment and uses it to support his view that the Tiraiyan's mother was a Cola woman of whose identity he has nothing to tell us. A straight literal translation of the text will show that it can bear no such interpretation, or at any rate, that, if there is nothing else to support the descent of the Tiraiyan from the Cola line, we shall be justified in our scepticism in regard to such descent. "You are of the family of the sea-coloured (god) who strode over the broad earth and whose breast carries the beautiful mole; (you are) the descendant of the strong chieftain given by the waves of the self-same sea. (Your) sceptre is like the right-whorled chank in its flawless superiority, repels injustice and administers justice; it is esteemed by the three (sovereigns) who with armies possessing loud drums guard all the beings of the wide world."

We see then that there is no dependable evidence in early Tamil literature on Karikāla's conquest of Kāncī; rather the testimony of the *Perumbāṇāṛṣɪuppaḍai* is just the other way, that Kāncī was in Karikāla's time under the rule of Ilandiraiyaṇ who is not once stated anywhere in this literature to have stood in subordinate relation to Karikāla. The first direct statement on Karikāla's relation to Kāncī is made by the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates of the sixth year of Rājēndra Cōla I in the 11th century A. D., and even then the other Cōla plates of the time say nothing about it.

The Telugu-Coda inscriptions are more definite and say that Karikāla ruled from Kāncī; according to them Karikāla's ancestors, and more often his so-called later Telugu descendants, had Uraiyur for their capital. * We have also the testimony of Śēkkilar in the 12th century and the much later Tondaimandalasatakam† telling us that Karikāla had a great share in the colonisation and the administrative regulation of the Tondaimandalam as a whole. We can only observe that the lateness of the testimony and its conflict with what we learn of Karikala from the earliest references to him render it extremely difficult for us to accept these statements as part of the history of the early ruler. How Karikāla came to be connected with the Tondaimandalam or Kanci in later times is quite another matter on which something will be said presently.

Closely connected with this is the question of Karikāla's contemporaneity with Trilocana Pallava, besides some others raised by the Telugu-Coda inscriptions, and to these we may now turn our attention. Both Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar and Dr. Venkata Ramanayya have pushed the Trilocana synchronism to the front recently and made it the basis for the date they assign to Karikāla. In doing so, they seek to impart a finality and conclusiveness to suggestions made by some epigraphists in a more cautious spirit. Mr. Krishna Sastri for instance, sums up the evidence on Trinētra as follows: ‡ "Trinayana Pallava is synonymous with Trilocana Pallava, Mukkanti-Pallava or Mukkanti

^{*} See e. g. v. 3 of No. 205 of 1899 and 15 of 1917

⁺ Verse 97 which Mr. K. V. Subrahmania Aiyar accepts wholesale, I.A. 41 p. 146.

İ E. I. Vol. X, p. 58 n. 2.

Kāduvetti (as the name sometimes appears in Telugu inscriptions). Trilocana was the mythical Pallava king who was ruling the Telugu country prior to the advent of the Calukyas under Vijayaditya of Ayodhya. the mythical account of the Eastern Calukyas given in copper-plates from the time of Vimaladitya downwards, Trilocana Pallava is mentioned as the king who opposed Vijayaditya in his victorious campaign against the south and perhaps also killed him. Trilocana is also mentioned in Telugu inscriptions as the contemporary of the early Cola king Karikala to whom he was subordinate. Mr. Venkayya places Karikāla (and consequently Trinayana Pallava) roughly about the end of the 5th century A. D. * The Isvara-vamsa to which Trinayana Pallava belonged (as disclosed by the Hemavati record) is not mentioned elsewhere. One record from Nandalur (No. 580 of 1907) actually traces Mukkanti Kāduvetti to the third eye of Śiva (Isvara). The Pallavas of Kanci traced their descent from Brahma, through many Puranic sages, to the Mahābhārata hero Aśvatthāman." In another place. † he says: "From the account given in the Eastern Calukya copper-plates-whatever its historical value may be-it appears as if five generations had intervened between the mythical king Vijayaditya and Kubja-Visnuvardhana before the latter came to rule over the Vengidesa and founded the Eastern Calukya dynasty." The last event happened in or about A.D. 615 and "calculating backwards for five generations, we arrive at the conclusion that Vijayāditya of Ayodhyā and, therefore, also Trilocana-

^{*} Mr. Venkayya, though he recognises that Trilocana was a mythical Pallava king, yet proceeds to fix Karikāla's date on the assumptions reproduced by Mr. Krishna Sastri. A. S. I. 1905-6 pp. 174-5 and nn. He is very cautious, however, in his remarks at I. A. Vol. 38 pp. 7-8.

[†] E. I. XI p. 840.

Pallava and Karikāla, must have flourished about the end of the fifth century A.D. The history of the Pallavas at this period is obscure, and it is not unlikely that Karikāla-Cōla was supreme at the time and held the Pallava dominions under his sway." One is amazed at the line of argumentation followed in the extracts given above; at the same time one is grateful for the care with which the facts have been summarised. see that Trilocana was the 'mythical' Pallava king of the Telugu country; he figures for the first time in Eastern Calukya plates in the 'mythical account' given from the time of Vimaladitya (11th century) downwards; he is yet accepted as the foe of Vijayaditya, who is himself a 'mythical' king. Trilocana is of the İsvara-vamsa, a family apparently different from that of the Pallavas of Kanci; yet he is accepted as the Pallava opponent of Karikāla. history of the Pallavas in this period is 'obscure' yet it is 'not unlikely' that Karikāla Cola held the Pallavas in subjection. Lastly, it is admitted that the historical value of the late E. Cālukya plates is not known; yet the apparent interval of five generations between the 'mythical' Vijayāditya and Kubja Visnuvardhana is accepted as a solid fact, and a scheme of chronology built thereon and "we arrive at the conclusion" that Trilocana, Karikāla and Vijayaditya "must have flourished at the end of the fifth century A.D." And to leave nothing unexplained, Mr. K. V. Subrahmania Aiyar undertakes to determine the political relation among the three contemporaries by suggesting * that "Trilocana Pallava had to meet the combined forces of Karikāla and Vijayāditya, and that the two last were on some terms of alliance, which are not quite plain." He adds: "It is not unlikely that some of the northern

powers joined one side or the other. In this connection it is worthy of note that Karikāla is represented in the Tamil work Śilappadikāram as an ally of Avanti, which is Ujjain in Malwa, and as the overlord of Vajra and Magadha. It looks as if Karikāla was instrumental in permanently settling the Western Cāļukyas in Southern India."

So it comes about that Eastern Cāļukya legends dating from the 11th century A.D., and dealing with the fifth, explain how the Western Cāļukyas * found a lodgement in South India in the seventh century A.D. Perhaps one of the unknown terms of alliance between Vijayāditya and Karikāla was that the former should die at the hands of Triņētra in a fight, and that Karikāla should live not only to reap the benefit of the alliance, but to put out the third eye of Triņētra and help Vijayāditya's Western descendants to settle in South India!

Dr. Venkata Ramanayya affirms: * "The evidence at our disposal is so very overwhelming that we have to accept the historicity of Trilocana and his contemporaneity with Karikāla as genuine historical facts." † In saying this, he has apparently been influenced by the number and range of the epigraphical and literary references he has brought together in the schedules at the end of his booklet. But all that is established by these references is that the Trilocana story was widely

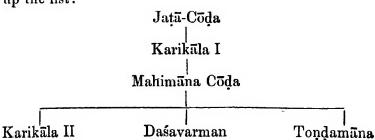
^{*} Professor L. D. Barnett (J. R. A. S. Oct. 1930, pp. 933-4, n. 1) has lent his support to Dr. Venkata Ramanayya's identification of Jayasimha, Ranarāga and Pulakēsin I of the Western line with Vijayāditya, Visnuvardhana and Pulakēsin I of the Eastern list (op. cit.) pp. 42-3. Even if these identifications are admitted without argument, they make no difference to the relations, among Vijayāditya I, and Triņētra and Karikāla which form the subject of our investigation.

[†] op. cit, p. 25.

current and frequently mentioned in the inscriptions of many families of petty rulers in the Telugu country from the 11th century. The ubiquitous nature of the story which so forcibly impresses this critic is in our opinion a strong reason for our not accepting it as history. Dr. Venkata Ramanayya is also apt to exaggerate the antiquity of the epigraphs mentioning the Trilocana-Karikala synchronism. He says that the inscriptions "belong to different ages from the 7th to the 13th century A.D." The only seventh century inscription mentioned in his tables at the end of the book is the Nellore record (D 2) of Calukya Vikramaditya which, as has been pointed out already, has no bearing on the subject. The date of the next earliest record* he cites is S 864, A.D. 942, but this only gives the name of Trilocana and has nothing to say of Karikāla, and the regular series does not commence till a century later. The lateness of the testimony to the Karikala-Trilocana story, and the mention of Trilocana in the records of many families in the Telugu country, often without any relation to Karikāla. alike point to a conclusion very different from that of Dr. Venkata Ramanayya on the historicity of Trilocana.

The attempt of the same scholar to prove the genuineness of the tradition of the Telugu-Cōḍa inscriptions in another direction can hardly be said to be more successful. He seeks to correlate the Telugu-Cōḍa genealogies of the Karikāla line with data drawn from early Tamil literature, in order to show that the former only repeat the Tamil tradition. First he takes two Telugu-Cōḍa inscriptions dated in Ś 1079 and Ś 1146 (Nos. 205 and 183 resp. of 1899) and combines

the genealogical information given by ithem and makes up the list:



The important fact here is this: the relation between Karikāla and Mahimāna Cōḍa is not stated in the earlier record. This is admitted by Dr. Venkata Ramanayya himself. * As the exact language employed in inscription is of some consequence to the understanding of the real position, it is necessary to reproduce it here; verse 5 relating to Karikāla concludes: kṣititalamakhilam pālayāmāsa Kāñcyām. The next verse begins:

inasantatāviha sutā abhavan mahimāna-codavasudhādhipateh I

karikāla-coda-daśavarma-nṛpāvapi toṇḍamānaḥ dharaṇīśa varaḥ N

This verse clearly marks a distinct break in the succession after Karikāla I, and this inscription though it mentions the construction of the Kāvēri banks knows nothing of Trilōcana. On the other hand, the other record of about seventy years later, gives a long genealogy in Telugu in which most of the legendary figures like Kasyapa, Manu, Bhagīratha and Rāma make their appearance, but not Jaṭācōḍa, the father of Karikāla and ruler of Ayōdhyā, who in his digvijaya conquered the Drāviḍa-pañcaka and set up his rule in Uraiyūr, and whose son, according to the

^{*} op. cit. p. 27.

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other record, was Karikāla of the Kāvēri-banks-fame who ruled from Kanci. This later Telugu genealogy moreover knows all about the Trilocana story, seems to make Karikāla a northern king and even introduces, like the Bhakti-raja plates, a Bhoja as his contemporary. It may be doubted whether particulars drawn from two such records, so different from each other and dealing in palpable legends relating to a distant past may, in combination, be expected to furnish a basis for history to stand Again, though there is a clear break in the Telugu genealogy (183 of 1899) after Karikāla II, there is no such break after Dasavarman * in the sanskrit record (205 of 1899) which after mentioning Dasavarma's conquest of Pakrastra and his rule from Pottappi (verse 8) proceeds: nṛpasya tasya putrōbhū (tpānkah) śankara kinkarah (v. 9) and again, ajāyata-tatī rājā satyassatyaparākramah (verse 10). It is a pity however, that a long gap in the inscription at this point makes it quite impossible to decide the number of generations between Mahimana and Kama Coda who is known to have been ruling about \$ 1059 (A. D. 1137). But the point is that so far as the line of rulers called the 'A' line by Mr. Venkayya † in his account of the Telugu-Codas is concerned, the break occurs between Karikāla and Mahimāna, and not after Mahimāna's son Daśavarman. And this should weigh as another serious objection to the genealogy of the Karikala line as restored by Dr. N. V. Ramanayya from the Telugu-Coda records.

His genealogy from the Tamil side ‡ is even less plausible. He chooses the name Māvaṇ-kiḷḷi for the Cōḷa king of the Maṇimēkalai, and sees in it a close

^{*} Contra Dr. N. V. Ramanayya op. cit p. 25.

[†] A. R. E. 1900, pp. 17 ff.

¹ N. V. Ramanayya op. cit pp. 28-32.

resemblance in meaning to Mahiman. He allows that Māvan-killi's relation to Karikāla is nowhere explicitly stated in the Tamil classics, but affirms that "Tamil scholars are, however, unanimous in accepting the ancient tradition, in accordance with which Mavankilli was the son of Karikāla." There is no such tradition of the relation between the two rulers and no unanimity of opinion among Tamil scholars on the subject. * Again: "Mavan-killi had two sons, Udaivakumaran and Tondaman Ilandiraiyan." Udayakumara was indeed the son of the king, but that does not help the argument in any way; Ilandiraiyan and his relation to the Colas we have discussed before, and our author allows that "some doubt may be entertained about this." And there is yet another step in his argument. "There can be no doubt about Pīli Vaļai, the mother of of Tondaimān being a Bāna princess. Her Bāna origin is proved by the name of her father Valai-Vanan. The surname Vanan is identical with Banan. In Tamil 'v' and 'b' are interchangeable and the change does not affect the meaning. The word Vanarayar is made use of frequently for Banarayar in later Tamil inscriptions. It may be suggested that 'valai' is a corrupt form of Bali, a name which occurs in Bana genealogy. The Banas ruled in Vaduga Vali or Andhrapatha, which seems to be identical with Pākarāstra. It may be noted in this connection that Dasavarman one of the sons of Mahimana Cola (Mavan-Killi) is said to have conquered this region." All our knowledge of Valai-Vanan is that, according to the Manimekalai +, besides

^{*} See Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar-Śzrań Śchguttuvan 2nd edn. p. 103 for a totally different reconstruction. By a curious mistake Dr. N. V. Ramanayya seems (p. 29) to make Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, whose guidance he follows, say that Ilango and Śchguttuvan were the sons of Karikala. In fact, Dr. Aiyangar says they were his grandsons.

[†] XXIV l. 54 and XXIX l. 3. The correct form is Valai-Vanan, not-Vanan.

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being the father of Pīli-vaļai, he was the ruler of the Nāga country (Nākanāḍu). There has been a great amount of speculation on the Nāgas in recent years; no connection between them and the Bāṇas has ever been suggested; nor indeed does it seem likely. The attempt to derive Vaļai from Bali is indeed hopeless; the suggested identification of the Āndhrapatha with Pākarāṣṭra is quite plausible; * but, in itself, this does not go far to support the identification of the Nāga king of the Maṇimēkalai with an imaginary Bāṇa king.

The attempt to discover common ground between early Tamil literature of the Sangam period and the late Telugu-Coda inscriptions is thus altogether forced and unconvincing. - To read some of these inscriptions with no preconceived theories to establish, is the surest means of convincing ourselves that we have in them edifying legends pitchforked into lengthy pedigrees, not quite consistent with one another, but always meant to redound to the glory of some petty chieftain or other who made some little gift. And a common feature of these legends of the Telugu country is to get their ancient king down from Ayodhya on a conquest, or on game hunting, often leading to an encounter with Trinetra, another mythical and shadowy figure. That is how Trinetra comes to be not only the opponent of Vijayāditya and Karikāla, but the friend of another prince from the North, an ancestor of Velananti Gonka III, by name Malla I, who had his capital orginally at Kirnapura in the Madhyadeśa. The same form of legend in which Trinetra figures as friend and not as foe appears to have been adopted, as Hultzsch remarks, † by the chiefs of Amaravati who bore the title "lord of

[•] E. I. XI p. 231.

⁺ E. I. IV p. 84.

the Satsahasra country on the southern bank of the river Krsnavenna, obtained through the favour of the glorious Trinayana Pallava." And we also hear of a Trilocana Kadamba about the same time * in the West. Karikāla himself is in some Kākatīya records a northern king coming down to the south on a hunting excursion, and setting up his camp at Kakatipura. † If we are to accept all the indications about Trilocana's greatness and the extent of his kingdom that we get from these records, he must have been a powerful emperor who at one time ruled practically the whole of the Deccan and held in his hand Kanci, Kalahasti, Banavase and so on. We may as well try and trace the true story of the lives and achievements of the heroes of the Mahābhārata with the aid of the local legends of South India centering round our numerous Pancapandava-malais, as accept this tale. Surely, the attempt to resuscitate legends so decisively rejected by the elder epigraphists like Fleet and Hultzsch is no forward step in the reconstruction of early South Indian History.

It is well known that not a single reference can be traced ‡ in the early literature of the Tamils to the achievement for which Karikāla is most extolled in later times—viz., the construction of the Kāvēri banks. Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar seeks to get over this difficulty ¶ first by suggesting that 'this work does not seem to have appealed to the imagination of contemporary poets as much as it did to that of men of a later age,' and then by discovering an allusion to Karikāla's

^{*} Kielhorn's list of S. I. Inscr., Nos. 254 & 261.

⁺ A. R. E. 1917 II 30.

[†] Mr. Kanakasabhai's citation of Silapp. X, ll. 108-11, (op. cit. p. 68) must have been due to some mistake.

[¶] Tamils pp. 360-2 & n.

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achievement in the phrase 'varaippaham' of ll. 240-41 of the Porunarārruppadai. He also argues that the great fertility of the Kāvēri valley that is attested by contemporary poets 'could have been obtained only if Karikala had scientifically regulated the flow of water in the Kāvēri.' Even if it be conceded that 'varaippaham' does not mean 'tanks and ponds' as Naccinarkkiniyar interprets it, but the inside of the embankment (of the river), still it is difficult to see how this can be taken as "an allusion" to the embankments said to have been raised by Karikāla. Following the suggestion made by Mr. Kanakasabhai on the evidence of Upham's Rājāvaļi, Dr. S. K. Aiyangar adopted the notion * that Karikāla's sway extended to Ceylon, that he invaded the island and brought thousands of its people captives and compelled them to work on the banks of the Kāvēri. The early chronicle Mahāvamsa, much more trustworthy as history, knows nothing of this invasion, and yet it has become current by being incorporated in four successive editions of Smith's Early History of India.

The earliest mention of Karikāla's embankment of the Kāvēri seems to be that in the Mālēpāḍu plates of Puṇyakumāra and there, as we have seen, Triṇētra is not heard of. The Bedirūr grant of the Gaṅga king Bhūvikrama of A. D. 634 † also mentions the embankment, but not Triṇētra. Still the fact is not easy to explain, that if Karikāla who attained the trairājyasthiti and controlled the flood-banks of the Kāvēri in some wonderful manner not stated (Mālēpāḍu plates) were the same king as is celebrated in Śaṅgam

^{*} Kanakasabhai pp. 8-9; Ancient India pp. 93-94; cf Upham Sacred Books of Ceylon. Vol. i p. 228; vol ii pp. 57-8 and 229 ff; also, Schoff in J. A. O. S. Vol. 33 p. 213. Contra Geiger-Mahāvamsa, ch. 85.

[†] Mys. Arch. Rep. 1925, p. 16 and No. 105.

literature, that literature should not betray the slightest trace of a knowledge of such a thing on the part of any of the authors mentioning Karikala. Old stanzas indeed, waifs and strays coming from nobody knows where, do contain such allusions; * but they can hardly be accepted as evidence of anything historical. mention of the event in the early Telugu-Coda plates from Malepadu and in the Tamil Cola plates of the Vijayālaya line, and the absence of all mention of Trinetra in these grants, may suggest that this particular statement is entitled to greater credence than the somewhat later jingle caranasaroruha etc. And the trairājyasthiti of Karikāla (Mālēpādu) which seems to coincide with what we hear in Tamil literature of his victories against the Cera and the Pandya is perhaps another consideration pointing to the same conclusion. On the other hand, the Malepadu plates do not tell us precisely how Karikāla controlled the floods of the Kaveri; they seem to count this achievement as the first of a series of miracles (anekātiśaya) which are not detailed. And the story grows first into an embankment of the Kāvēri, then into an embankment raised by the hands of the defeated enemies of Karikala, and lastly, when this stream of legend mingles with another started by the craze for Trinetra, into the elaborate form in which it gets standardized in the caranasaroruha formula and the Kalingattupparani verse. On the whole it seems therefore best to treat the construction of the banks of the Kāvēri as a Karikāla myth rather than accept it as history. A Tamil inscription † of the twelfth century or so mentions a Parakēsari Karikālacoladeva who raised the banks of the Kaveri.

^{*}See Pandit M. Rāghava Aiyangar's 'Perundogai' Nos. 778 and 779, the first purporting to give the date of the embankment, and the second Karikāla's life-history in a brief compass up to his death in his 83rd year.

^{+ 110} of 1925.

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only Parakēsari with the Karikāla title was Āditya II, c. A. D. 865-70; the inscriptions of his reign, however, do not refer to this event.

That in Indian conditions history had too often a tendency to degenerate quickly into mythology is a fact generally admitted and easy to demonstrate. The history of Ekantada Ramayya* in the twelfth century A. D. is a case from relatively modern times. Karikāla is an ancient name and legend has played upon it for a very long time. It began its work early as we see from the Sitappadikāram. Whatever might have happened after his time, there is no trustworthy evidence to show that Karikala ruled at Kanci at all. That Kancipuram was an important place in Karikala's time is clear from the Perumbanarruppadai; and the Manimekalai seems to imply that sometime after Karikāla the city passed under the sway of the Colas. But of the Pallavas of the Prakrit and Sanskrit charters we have no mention in early Tamil literature, and the idea of a Cola interregnum in Kanci in the midst of Pallava rule appears to rest entirely on the Trilocana myth and the date postulated for Karikala thereupon. Karikāla's connection with Kāncī in legend would appear to have arisen partly from the great celebrity of Kanci from very early times, and partly from the presumption that so powerful a king as Karikala must in his time have held Kanci as well. Further, Trilocana Pallava having been made the opponent of Karikala. what was more natural than that the city which was most associated with Pallava rule in the minds of the people should have fallen to Karikala after his conquest of Trinetra? Indeed, in considering this question, the possibility has often presented itself to my mind that there, after all, may have existed another Karikala

See Bombay Gazetteer Vol. 1, Pt. II, p. 482 ff and E. I. V pp. 239 ff.

different from the king of the Pattinappālai, who held Kāncī and raised the banks of the Kāvēri, and who in later times came to be confounded with his earlier namesake; but every time, the insubstantial nature of the evidence on which these facts relating to Kāncī and Kāvēri rest, and the utter impossibility of reconciling such an assumption with the trend of general history so far as it is known at present, have resulted in the idea of a second Karikāla being dismissed as untenable.

There is some temerity involved in expressing an individual judgment on the events of the reign of Karikāla in view of the inquiries published already by several scholars of eminence; the more so as the judgment has to be based on materials already for the most part well-known and used by the very scholars from whose conclusions it differs. But the issues involved are so fundamental to a rational understanding of the trend of South Indian history, that a fresh examination of them in a dispassionate and critical manner does not seem superfluous. I hope that all the help that has been derived from earlier writers in the consideration of the questions raised has been duly acknowledged: also that my discussion of these questions has not been unduly influenced by my view of the age to which the early Tamil literature of the Sangam belongs. I have sought to discuss the incidents of Karikāla's life and reign solely on the evidence bearing on each of them, and with no preconceived notions as to the chronological place of Karikāla in the history of Southern India. And my conclusion is that Karikāla's history is contained only in the contemporary poems of Nos. I & II among the groups in which I have arranged the chief sources for purposes of this

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discussion, that group III furnishes very valuable corroboration on some important points and comprises poems either contemporary or nearly so, and that all the other statements that cluster round the name of Karikāla in literature and epigraphy must, if at all, be accepted only with very great caution. On the age of Karikāla we have reached the negative conclusion that the fifth century date, based as it is entirely on the Vijayāditya-Trilocana-Karikāla synchronism is utterly untrustworthy. One wonders, in fact, that it ever came to be proposed at all on such evidence! For the rest, the date of the king is closely bound up, the more so when his story is shorn of all its later legendary accretions, with one of the most vexed questions of South Indian chronology. I have stated my reasons elsewhere * for holding that the literature of the Sangam belongs to the early centuries of the Christian era.

We have been told, † however, that apart from the difficulty in fixing the age of the Sangam, there are other objections to an early date for Karikāla and it is necessary, before concluding this study, to consider the validity of these objections. It has been said that neither the Periplus nor Ptolemy mentions Karikala though they refer to much less celebrated monarchs. The obvious answer is that such silence on the part of foreign writers means little; and it is not denied that some of the monarchs mentioned by these writers are also found in the Sangam literature which mentions Karikāla. Then it is argued that "Ptolemy's geography of Tamil India in the II century A. D. gives us the picture of a land ruled by several petty monarchs and not one that had been brought under the sole discus of a great monarch as the Tamil poems describe Karikāla

See The Pandyan Kingdom pp. 16 ff.

⁺ Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar-Tamils, pp. 381-2.

to be." This argument derives its plausibility from exaggerating the pettiness of the monarchs mentioned by Ptolemy and the greatness of Karikāla. In spite of the victories that Karikāla won at Venni and Vāhai, there is no ground to believe that he had in his permanent occupation many districts outside the Kaveri basin including Uraiyūr and Puhār, or that the whole of Tamil India had been 'brought under his sole discus'an expression intelligible enough in early Tamil poetry, but not necessarily, on that account, literally true. Lastly, it is held that "the disputations of logicians who flew their flags of challenge in front of their tents. referred to in the Pattinappālai certainly belong to an age when dialectics had developed, and this certainly did not take place even in Northern India before the III century A. D." We have no definite knowledge of the early history of Indian philosophy. "We must content ourselves with the belief," says Mr. Keith in his History of Sanskrit Literature, "that between the dates of the chief upanisads and the third or fourth century A. D., there proceeded an active stream of investigation which we have only in its final form." According to this estimate, the 3rd or 4th century A.D. marks, in Northern India, not the beginning, but the close of an active period of philosophical investigation. and in the face of this considered statement of the age of Indian philosophy, it is hard to see any force whatever in the objection raised to a date in the second century A. D. for Karikāla. We may conclude by saying, once more, that our object has not been to stand up for a second century date for Karikāla; we have been concerned only to show that the objections raised to that or any other early date for Karikala do not stand scrutiny.

SOME ASPECTS OF RURAL LIFE AND ADMINISTRATION IN COLA TIMES

Throughout India the village was the unit of local administration before the advent of British rule. is seen from numerous reports of the earlier administrators of British India, the vitality of village institutions struck their observers as something very remarkable in the period of the establishment of British rule. village organisation in the Deccan, for instance, this is what Elphinstone wrote: "Though probably not compatible with a very good form of government, they are an excellent remedy for the imperfections of a bad one. They prevent the bad effects of negligence and weakness, and even present some barrier against its tyranny and rapacity. Again, these communities contain in miniature all the materials of a state within themselves, and are almost sufficient to protect their members if all other government were withdrawn. the stability and continuity of Indian village life and organisation is to be sought the secret of the good things achieved by India in the past in spite of an apparent incapacity to develop political institutions of an advanced character." The study of village institutions constitutes therefore an important part of the task of anyone who seeks to understand at their source the main currents of national life in ancient India.

The importance of this study is coming more and more to be felt by students of Indian history. Considerable portions of Mr. R. K. Mookerjee's Local Government in Ancient India and Mr. R. C. Majumdar's

Corporate Life, as also Mr. A. S. Altekar's work on Village-Communities in Western India furnish proof of the growing interest in this line of study. But it has not always been recognised that evidence drawn from one period and locality should not be blended with other evidence relating to other times and localities, and discussion has often taken the form of combining stray data from the Smṛtis with those drawn from inscriptions widely separated from one another in space and time, and the publications mentioned above furnish some striking examples of such historical averaging.

I propose in what follows to offer a brief review of the evidence bearing on village institutions in the Tamil country with special reference to the period of Cola supremacy, say from the tenth century to the thirteenth.

The earliest references of a specific character to village Sabhās in the Tamil land occur in the inscriptions of the close of the 8th century A. D. from the Pāṇḍya and the Pallava countries. The origin and early history of these assemblies is at present very obscure, although their general prevalence over the whole of Southern India including the Cēra, Karnāṭaka and Telugu countries is widely attested by numerous epigraphs. And the Kēraļōtpatti embodies traditions of an organised system of Tarakkūṭṭam, Nāṭṭukkūṭṭam and Perungūṭṭam held in the Kēraļa from time to time for many centuries till recent times.

While editing the Uttaramerur records of Parantaka Cola, Mr. Venkayya suggested a northern origin for the typical village assembly, and was inclined to believe that it was an adaptation to South Indian conditions of the system of government by committees

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described by Megasthenes as obtaining in Pāṭaliputra. Others have followed Mr. Venkayya's lead and have drawn attention to the use of Sanskrit terms in the records of the village assemblies of South India as an additional argument in support of the thesis.

Although the complex organisation of the Sabhā with a number of elected committees, like that typified by the Uttaramerur inscriptions, was unknown in the early centuries of the Christian era in the Tamil country, still the numerous references to manram and podivil in the classical literature of the Sangam period leave little room for doubt that some form of a primitive village assembly was known at the time. The commentator Naccinārkkiņiyar invariably explains manram by the words ūrukku naduvā yellāru-mirukkum marattadi, meaning the open place in the centre of the village where all people meet under the shade of a tree. And some references in the Puram to the manram (Nos. 46 and 220) make it clear that it was the place where justice was administered. In Puram 46 we have an interesting situation. The Cola king Killivalavan doomed the sons of his foe Malayaman to be thrown to an elephant. When the sentence is to be executed, a poet intercedes on behalf of the youngsters and appeals to the king's mercy saying * that a strange fear has taken possession of those tender youths as they stare in bewilderment at the manru. Here the manru is the place where public punishments are inflicted. Again, Puram 220 is a lament of Pottivar, a close friend of another Cola king, at the sight of the manram of ancient Uraivūr bereft of its king who had for some unknown reason given up his life by starvation. † Here we get a

^{* 11. 5-8} of Purandnuru No. 46.

[†] A practice analogous to but different from the sallekhana of the Jainas.

clear indication that the king used to go to the manram, apparently to administer justice and to do other It must be noticed that in both these public business. instances it is the mannam of Uraiyūr, the Cola capital of the time, that is mentioned; and except the employment of the same word to describe the open meetingplaces belonging to other towns and villages, we have little direct evidence of the existence, nature and working of local assemblies of a popular character in this early period of Tamil history. Nevertheless, popular gatherings of a social and religious nature in the manram of every locality are known to have been a regular feature of rural life, and the manram was undoubtedly the scene of song, dance and other social amusements. As the modern distinctions between the political and other aspects of social life found no expression in the organisation of a more primitive age, it seems legitimate to infer that matters which we are apt to consider political or economic, like the settlement of a civil dispute, the punishment of crime, or the purchase and sale of land, must have engaged the attention of such popular gatherings in each locality.

It should, however, be observed that nowhere in the formal descriptions of Tamil polity such as we have in the Kural do we come across any clear references to the village and its institutions. The Kural in fact knows only of the learned $Sabh\bar{a}^*$. The commentator Parimelalagar makes it the king's $Sabh\bar{a}$; but the word 'avai' seems to have a more general application as is seen from some of the couplets in the sections thereon.

On the other hand, there are clear and unmistakable traces of the existence and the active

^{*} See sections on avai-yarital and avai-yanjumai.

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functioning of Sabhās in villages in Rgvedic India. In a recent study on the economic and political conceptions in the Rgveda, the evidence on the matter is summarised as follows:

"Each town and each village possessed a building where were held meetings of the tribunal under the presidency of the madhyamāśi who punished crimes and presided also at the meetings of Vedic Indians in their recreations." *

The essential duty of the Sabhā was to administer justice. It is worth noting that almost every inscription in Southern India which mentions a village assembly also makes reference to a madhyastha of the village, and that administration of justice formed one of the principal duties of the assembly. It would thus appear that the village assembly of later historical times in the South was, far from being the result of a single line of development, northern or southern, the complex product of the interaction of both southern and northern, Tamil and Sanskrit, influences.

Turning now to the evidence from Cola inscriptions, there appear to have been different kinds of village assemblies corresponding to differences in the nature of the villages concerned. The Sabhā strictly so called was the assembly of purely Brahman villages (Brahmadēyas) which usually had names ending in Caturvēdimangalam. We know more of this class of villages and their administration than of others. The other classes may therefore be briefly noticed before we return to a detailed consideration of the Brahmanical Sabhās. Many villages appear to have had an assembly called $\bar{U}r$. So far, we have not come across any

^{*} H. C. Joshi-Conceptions Economiques et Politiques Dans L'Inde Ancienne D'Apres Le Rigueda p. 79.

evidence on the details of the organisation of this type of assembly. It appears to have been a kind of primitive gathering of the local people, the descendant of the earlier Tamil mannam, in which people met together and managed business somehow without any set rules or formal procedure.

In some instances the $\bar{U}r$ existed side by side with the $Sabh\bar{a}$ or the $Mah\bar{a}sabh\bar{a}$. Thus, one inscription from Tiruvālangādu, Tanjore, * speaks of both the assemblies of the village, namely the $Mah\bar{a}sabh\bar{a}$ and the $\bar{U}r$, agreeing to a scheme to delimit the extent of lands enjoyed tax-free by the local temple. In like manner, the $Sabh\bar{a}$ and the $\bar{U}r$ of Tiruvadandai together accepted two endowments in favour of the local temple. † In one instance, the $\bar{U}r$ of Tiruvadandai alone accepted an endowment without reference to the sister body, the $Sabh\bar{a}$. ‡

Then we have examples of a group called $Nagaratt\bar{a}r$ performing functions very similar to those of the $Sabh\bar{a}$ and the $\bar{U}r$ in other places. The $Nagaratt\bar{a}r$ were apparently assemblies of mercantile groups which went by the generic name Nagaram. For instance $Eyirk\bar{o}ttattu$ nagaram $K\bar{a}nc\bar{o}puram$.

Then we have the $N\bar{a}tt\bar{a}r$, people of a $n\bar{a}du$, which, as is well-known, was an administrative division larger than the village but smaller than the mandalam. There is a clear reference to the assembly of the $Tiruvalund\bar{u}r$ $n\bar{a}du$ through whom a whole village was granted to a temple by the king.

^{* 88} of 1926.

[†] S. J. J. Vol. III. Nos. 180 and 186.

^{1 268} of 1910.

^{¶ 100} of 1926

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Lastly we have reference to assemblies of the people of a whole mandalam. An inscription from Little Conjeevaram * states that the assembly of the people of Jayangonda-Cola-mandalam granted a partial remission of taxes on several classes of land in the district under their control.

Attention may be drawn here to the striking analogy between two of these terms from the Tamil inscriptions and the words Paura and Jānapada which have attracted attention after Mr. Jayaswal stated his theory that these were constitutional assemblies intended to limit the sway of autocracy in municipal and provincial administration. The expressions Nattar and Nagarattār are strikingly analogous to Jānapada and Paura respectively; in fact, no better rendering into Tamil of these Sanskrit terms can be imagined. And the evidence of the Tamil inscriptions is conclusive that the Nadu and the Nagaram were corporate organisations of some sort which performed definite duties and enjoyed the privileges of autonomy. There is also literary usage in support of our view of the relation of these Tamil terms to their Sanskrit analogues. Thus what the celebrated annotator Parimelalagar calls nāṭṭuppaḍai † will be seen to correspond to what Kautilya calls Śrēnībalam and describes as Jānapadam. But the analogy between these two sets of terms cannot be pressed far, as there seem to be no terms in the Sanskrit literature on polity corresponding to the other bodies known to Tamil epigraphy.

In the *Perungadai*, a Tamil version of Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā*, we have a significant statement that, on the occasion of the birth of Naravāṇa (Naravāhana), among

^{* 556} of 1919.

⁺ Note en Kural 762; cf. Kautilya ed. Shama Sastri (1924) pp. 342 and 345.

those who took part in the festivities were: "the Sabhā dear (to the king), the five great kulus, the Nagaram and the Nādu." * As the Sabhā of the king is here distinguished from the Nagaram, we may conclude that the latter was more likely a professional corporation of merchants than an urban assembly for general administration. It may also be noted in passing that the "five great kulus," which some writers hold to have been a popular council of representatives, are best understood in the present context as ceremonial groups in personal attendance on the king on important occasions. †

We may also note that in the Pallava charters we get some clear information about the $N\bar{a}du$ and its role in the general administration. The Kaśākūdi plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla have at the beginning of the Tamil part "Kon-olai, yandirupattirandāvadu, ūrrukkāttukköttattu nāttārungānka,"-"Royal order, year 22nd, may the nāṭṭār of the Urrukkāttu-kkōttam also see." A few lines further on, we have a clear statement ‡ that the members of the Nādu (nāttōm) saw the royal order and assigned lands in accordance with the wishes of the Nattu-viyavan who may have been either the headman of the $N\bar{a}du$ (assembly) as Hultzsch understands it, or possibly a royal official placed over the administrative divison. That the $N\bar{a}du$ was an organised assembly of a more or less popular character is strikingly indicated by the phrase Nāţţai-kkūţţi-nila-nadappittu etc., of the Udayēndiram plates of Hastimalla. ¶

^{* 11. 37-8} of V 6. "ahanamaravaiyum - aimperunguluvum, nagaramum nādum - togaikondindi"

[†] See my Pandyan Kingdom pp. 32-3.

[‡] S. J. J. II, No. 73, 11, 109-11.

[¶] S. I. I. II. No. 76, 11. 96-7.

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In the present state of our knowledge it is very difficult to say what the constitution of these different assemblies was like, what (specially with reference to the assemblies of the nadu and of the mandalam) the exact sphere of their duties was, or what procedure was adopted at their meetings. One thing, however, is clear, that the assemblies other than Sabhās do not seem to have amounted to anything other than general meetings of the people concerned. This does not apply, of course, to non-territorial bodies of the nature of guilds and military clubs of which we say nothing here and to which admission was regulated by considerations of a different character. The general assemblies which played a more or less prominent part in the administration of the country appear to have included all the classes of the people without distinction of caste, except in Brahmadeya villages. Mr. Altekar is obviously wrong in assuming that all village assemblies in South India were governed by rules similar to those laid down by the Sabhā of Uttaramērūr. * It may also be noted in passing that sometimes the assemblies of different places and of different types appear to have come together for the transaction of business. the Sabhā of Tiraimūr and the Nagaram of Tiruvidaimarudur met together with some other authorities of the temple of Tiruvidaimarudur to make arrangements for the preservation of ancient endowments to the temple engraved on its old walls which were to be pulled down to renovate the central shrine. †

To return to the Sabhās and Brahmadēya villages where they obtained. The earliest instance so far known of the constitution of a Sabhā is that contained

^{*} See his Village Communities in Western India, p. 123.

^{+ 199} of 1907.

in an inscription of the 35th year of Māraṇ Śadaiyaṇ, Circa A. D. 800, which records the settlement (vyavasthai) arrived at by the Mahāsabhā and introduced by the following words: Kaļakkudi - nāṭṭu brahmadēyammānanilainallūr mahāsabhaiyōm - perunguri - śārri śrīgōvardhanattu - kkūḍiyirundu ivvūr mahāsabhaiyōm kūḍi manrāḍuvadaṇukku-cceyda vyavasthaiyāvadu—

"We, the (members of the) Mahāsabhā of Mānanilainallūr, a Brahmadēya in Kaļakkudi-nādu, summoned the great assembly by beat of drum, * met at Śrī Gōvardhana, and made the following settlement (of procedure) for the transaction of business at the meetings of the Mahāsabhā of this place."

From this it is clear that the Mahāsabhā of this place had been in existence before the new settlement was arrived at, and what is even more remarkable, that the new rules and restrictions introduced for the working of the Sabhā were made entirely at the initiative of the Sabhā itself. There is at any rate no evidence of royal initiative or sanction for the constitution so adopted. Another noteworthy feature of this inscription is that it contains the earliest reference to variyam in the words: "muluc-cirāvanai-illādārai evvakaippatta vāriyamum ēraņdapperādār - āgavum," meaning, "those who do not have full shares (cirāvaņai) shall not be put in charge of any kind of vāriyam." † The passage is not easy but it appears as if the vāriyam in this inscription was some kind of duty to be performed by a single individual rather than by a committee. This view receives support from an inscription from Sucindram of the 15th year of Rajaraja I (999 A.D.) which has:

^{*} Sārṛal is to proclaim by beat of drum. Kuṛi and Peruṅguṇi often occur in inscriptions, and are usually understood as 'assembly' and 'great assembly', that is as Tamil terms corresponding to Sabhā and Mahāsabhā.

[†] Cf. pottakattilum erattu variyilum ittu, l. 8 of No. 68 of 1898.

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"Sabhaiyōm vaicca vāriyar iruvarum karaṇattāṇum kūḍi dēvakāriyam śeyvadākavum" i.e., "The two vāriyar appointed by the members of the Sabhā and the Karaṇattāṇ shall together look after the temple affairs."

The next instance of a detailed constitution of the Sabhā known to us is contained in the celebrated Uttaramallur inscriptions. It is doubtful if the constitution of Uttaramerur, to use the more ancient name of the place, was adopted at the instance of the king or had his approval. The only thing that is certain is that a royal officer was present in the assembly on both the occasions when it discussed and settled its own constitution. Later Cola inscriptions contain specific examples of royal orders communicating certain rules to regulate the qualifications of the members and the conduct of the meeting of the Sabhā. * But all these instances establish one point beyond doubt, that each village had its own separate constitution. Though the type was more or less the same, the details varied considerably, and the assemblies often changed their constitutions in the light of experience.

Uttaramērūr for instance would appear to have had a much less elaborate constitution in the Pallava period † than it adopted under the Cōla ruler Parāntaka I. As is well known, in the reign of this Cōla king, the rules of the assembly underwent two revisions in the course of two years. We may, therefore, conclude that although the type of constitution was to some extent fixed for the Sabhās of the Brahmadēyas, still in details such as the age and qualification of the members, the number of committees into which the Sabhā was resolved and the method of choice to these

[•] e. g., 148 of 1927 and 120 of 1928.

[†] cf. 61 of 1898 of about 796 A. D.

committees, there must have been differences from village to village. In the reign of Rājarāja the Sabhā of Tennēri (Chingleput) for instance laid down * that a knowledge of the mantras was essential not only for service in the village-committees but for Sabhāmārrañjollutal which seems to mean taking part in the deliberations of the assembly, † a requirement very similar to that contained in the Mānūr record of Māran Śadaiyan.

It may also be inferred that under the Colas the village assemblies were brought under a closer supervision by the central government than at any other time.



^{*} The words actually employed are—" mantra - brāhmaṇam vallārēy vāriyañjeyvārākavum sabhāmāggañjolluvārākavum."

[†] Nos. 240 and 241 of 1922.

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We shall study briefly the practical working in the Cola period of the assembly (Sabhā) of one of the Brahmadeya villages of the Tanjore district. This study is based on the evidence of contemporary inscriptions which give interesting details of the economic and social life of the village and of the part played by the assembly in it. The name of the village as it occurs in the inscriptions is Nālūr, a Brahmadēya in Śerrūrkūrram in the Kşatriya-sikhāmaņi-vaļanādu, a name applied to N.E. part of the modern district of Tanjore.* In a comparatively early Rajakesari inscription, the village is called Palaiyasembiyan-mahādēvi-caturvēdimangalam on the southern bank, apparently of the Kāvēri. In later inscriptions the village gets another name as well, and that is Vanavan - madevi - caturvedimangalam; † it is not possible to say if this name is derived from that of Parantaka II Sundara Cola's queen Vanavanmahadevi who is known to have performed suttee on his death, or from that of some other Cola queen; it does not appear in records till late in the reign of Kulottunga I. The village has been identified, very plausibly, with Tiru-Nālūr-Tirumayanam of the hymns of the great Saiva saint Tirujnanasambandar. ‡ This identification gains support from the name of one of the temples repeatedly mentioned in the inscriptions, viz., Tirumayanam-udaiya

^{*} S. I. I. Vol. II, Intro. p. 22.

[†] No. 317 of 1910 of year 3 of Vikramacola. Earlier name in No. 320 of 1910.

[‡] By Mr. H. Krishna Sastri in A. R. E. 1911 II. 17.

Paramasvāmin. * The name of the village from which these inscriptions come, Tirumeynāṇam, is a palpable corruption of the more ancient form Tirumayāṇam; and the occurrence of this name with Nālūr in our records leaves no room to question its identity with the shrine celebrated by Sambandar. It is situated within ten miles to the S. E. of Kumbakōṇam. †

In point of time, the inscriptions range over a period of nearly three centuries and half from the second regnal year of Rājakēsari Āditya I, the father of Parāntaka I, c. A. D. 880, to the seventeenth of Rājarāja III, ‡ c. A. D. 1233; and the series gives us a fair insight into the kind of work that occupied the assembly from time to time during several generations of Cōla rule. It is best to arrange some inscriptions from the series in chronological order and give a brief indication of the contents of each before offering a few remarks on the salient features of village life and administration reflected in these records:—

- (1) 321 of 1910—Āditya I, 2nd year—The Assembly described as Bhaṭṭapperumakkaļ ulliṭṭa peruṅguripperumakkaļōm borrow 25 kāśu from the Mūlasthānattu-mahādēva, and in return assign the right of collecting aṅgāḍi-kkūli at prescribed rates from stalls opened in the bazaar of the temple (S. I. I. III, 90).
- (2) 320 of 1910—Āditya I (?), 7th year—Gift of land by the Assembly of Tenkarai Palaiya-sembiyan-mahādēvi-caturvēdimangalam.
- (3) 327 of 1910—Parantaka I, 4th year—The Assembly of Akkirama-kōṭṭa-caturvēdimaṅgalam, a

^{* 313} of 1910.

[†] No. 168 in the *Stvasthalamañjari* by Mr. V. T. Subramania Pillai (Madras 1931.)

^{1 321} and 332 of 1910.

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Brahmadēya in Tenkarai Tirunaraiyūr-nādu, makes a gift of land to Śamaparēśvarattu - Perumān - adigaļ of the Nālūr temple.

- (4) 319 of 1910—Parāntaka I, 6th year—Sale of land by the Assembly of Nālūr.
- (5) 312 of 1910—Parāntaka I, 15th year—Sale of land by the Assembly of Nālūr.
- (6) 316 of 1910—Parāntaka I, 15th year—Sale of land by the Assembly of Nālūr.
- (7) 328 of 1910—Parāntaka I, 16th year. Gift (?) of land by the Assembly of Ārūr-ccēri, a Brahmadēya in Tirunaraiyūr-nādū, to the temple of Tirumayāṇam in Nālūr.
- (8) 309 of 1910—Parantaka I, 22nd year—Gift of 90 sheep for a lamp.
- (9) 318 of 1910—Parāntaka, Year lost—Sale of land by the Assembly of Nālūr.
- (10) 330 of 1910—Rājarāja I, 15th year—Gift of twelve Îļa-kkāśu for twelve lamps by a merchant of Nālūr named Tirunāvukkaraiyan to the temple of Tirumayāṇattu-paramēśvara.
- (11) 326 of 1910—Rājarāja I, 23rd year—Gift of land for maintaining a lamp in the Viṣṇu temple Tirunārāyaṇa Viṇṇagar of Nālūr. A meeting of the Assembly of Nālūr was held at the big hall called Gaṇḍarādittaṇ.
- (12) 322 of 1910—Rājarāja I, 24th year—Gift of land to a temple by a merchant. A meeting of the Assembly of Nālūr in a hall called Rājarājan in front of Śamaparēśvara temple.

- (13) 308 of 1910—Rājarāja I, 24th year—Λ lease of land. A meeting at Vaṇṇakkaṇār-ambalam of the Assembly of Nālūr, a Brahmadēya in Śērrūr-kūrram.
- (14) 310 of 1910—Rājēndra Cōļadēva, 24th year. Mentions Śēŗŗūr-kūŗŗam.
- (15) 331 of 1910—Vīrarājēndra Cōļa, 7th year— Two lamps by a lady to the temple of Tirumayāṇamudaiyār.
- (16) 313 of 1910—Kulöttunga Cöladeva, 36th year—Two lamps to Tirumayanam-udaiya Parama-syamin.
- (17) 323 of 1910—Kulöttunga Cöladeva, 43rd year—Sale of land by the Assembly to an individual of Vānavan-mādevi-caturvēdimangalam.
- (18) 317 of 1910—Vikramacoladeva, 3rd year— Money endowed for a lamp. Nalūr is also called Vānavan-mādēvi-caturvedimangalam.
- (19) 332 of 1910—Rājarāja III, 17th year—Registers a decision of the Assembly of Nālūr alias Vānavaņ-mahādēvi-caturvēdimangalam which met under a tamarind tree. All people who violated the decision that no one should do anything against the interests of the village or against the temple of Tirumayāṇam-uḍaiyār and similar institutions were declared to be grāma-drōhins and were deprived of certain privileges of a social and religious character.

There seems to be a rather large gap of over a century in these inscriptions between Vikrama Cola and Rajaraja III. We are not able to explain this satisfactorily at present.

The first thing that strikes us in looking over these inscriptions is their pre-occupation with temples and

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religious charities. The inscriptions themselves are engraved mostly on temple walls; and they generally register endowments of money, land or cattle for the maintenance of lamps and festivals and other means of securing religious merit for the donors or their friends and relatives. This common trait in our inscriptions has led scholars sometimes to underrate their importance in the study of social history and to brush them aside as a mass of dull and dreary narrations of puerile transactions. This tendency is apt to grow if scholars have to depend on bald and occasionally inaccurate summaries of these records, without being able to examine closely the texts themselves. But even the published summaries, if carefully used, can tell us a great deal that is interesting and important about the social and economic life of the country in the past.

Thus our inscriptions contain references to no fewer than six different shrines in the village, and these include Vaisnava as well as Saiva deities. The names of these temples are (1) Plāśapurīśvara from which come Nos. 308 and 309 of 1910; (2) Vannakkanār-ambalam where the assembly met once in the 24th year of Rajaraja I (A. D. 1009) for leasing out some land; (3) Śamaparēśvara, the Mahādeva temple which gets some land from the assembly of a neighbouring village and in front of which there was a hall called Rajarajan in which the assembly of the village held a second meeting in the 24th year of the king after whom the hall took its name; (4) Tirumayanamudaiya Paramasvāmin also called Mūlasthānattumahadeva in the inscriptions and represented to-day by the Jñanaparameśvara temple on whose walls are engraved most of the inscriptions listed earlier in this paper; (5) Agastīśvaram-udaiyār temple which received

a gift of land in the reign of Parakesari-varman Rājēndracoļadēva * and lastly, (6) Tirunārāyaņa Vinnakar containing shrines of (a) Laksmīrāghavadeva + and (b) Kṛṣṇa of the butter-dance (Veṇṇaikkūttādukinga-ālvār). The presence of so many temples undoubtedly added to the fullness and gaiety of the social life of the place besides contributing to the economic well-being of its inhabitants by the various opportunities for employment it must have offered to them. One inscription tells us for instance of the provision made for the maintenance of persons for playing on the Vinā (lute) regularly and for reciting the Vedas and the Śrīrudram. The supply of oil and ghee for lamps, of flowers for daily worship and for special occasions, and the provision of all the other requirements of the temples must have furnished constant and secure employment for many persons. Very often endowments took the form of gifts of land to the temples, and the cultivation of these lands at more or less favourable terms of lease under the supervision of the village assembly formed no inconsiderable feature of the economy of rural life. when new constructions were undertaken or old ones renovated, the people must have had exceptionally good opportunities of employment suited to their abilities and tastes. In all these ways the temple is seen to have been the nucleus round which clustered the daily activities of considerable sections of the people in its neighbourhood.

Nālūr-Tirumayāṇam being a Brahman village, a Brahmadēya or caturvēdimangalam, its assembly took the form of the Sabhā. It may be noted in passing that a caturvēdimangalam need not necessarily have

^{*} No. 314 of 1910.

⁺ No. 322 of 1910.

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included, as its name may be taken to imply, Brahmans representing each of the four Vedas; caturvēdi must, it seems, be taken to be the Sanskrit form of nānmaraiyōn meaning simply a Brahman. And to the form caturvedimangalam was usually prefixed the name of some king, queen or other distinguished person whose benefaction led to the establishment of the agrahāra, or a part of it; and in Cola times these names were undergoing frequent changes. We have apparently no information in the inscriptions about some important aspects of the working of this particular Sabhā. We do not know whether it functioned through standing committees and whether, if it did, there were any special qualifications governing service on such committees. In the absence of information to the contrary, it is only natural to assume that all the Brahmans of the village were members of the Sabhā and that the entire Sabhā attended to all the business that came before it.

We notice that the assembly did not have a fixed meeting place and that it met in different places at different times. The place of meeting is not always recorded; but two inscriptions * tell us of two meetings in the twenty-fourth regnal year of Rājarāja I, one held at the temple called Vaṇṇakkaṇār-ambalam and another in a hall called after the king in front of the Śamaparēśvara temple. One is tempted to imagine that the hall called after Rājarāja was built in front of perhaps the largest temple in the village—this temple receives a gift from a neighbouring village †—to serve as a permanent meeting place for the assembly.

Once, however, in the reign of Rājarāja III the assembly met under a tamarind tree (nammūr-pāṇḍanēri-ppuliyaḍi). This could not have been due to the

Nos. 12 and 13 above.

[†] No. 3 above.

absence of a more suitable meeting place; for we have just seen that this was not so. We shall revert to this question presently.

Turning to the functions of the village assembly, we have to observe that until a critical study is made of all the texts of the inscriptions bearing on this subject we shall not be in a position to formulate general conclusions of a trustworthy character. In dealing with individual assemblies, however, we can make note of what seems to be of striking importance in their working, in the hope that when a sufficiently large number of these institutions have been studied in a similar manner. some conclusions of a general character may emerge from such enquiries. In this respect the very first inscription in the list given above, which belongs to about the end of the 9th century is very noteworthy as we see from its published text. The assembly is called Bhatta-pperumakkal-ullitta Perunguri-pperumakkal, i.e., "members of the Great Assembly including the priests of the temple." What accounts for the special mention of the Bhattas? We can hardly suppose that they were not ordinarily members of the assembly and that they attended one meeting of that body for special reasons; for if our view of the composition of the general body of the assembly is correct, the Bhattas being necessarily Brahmans must normally have been entitled to sit and take part in it. The reason for their being mentioned separately must then lie elsewhere. It may be that, as we learn from the details preserved in Uttaramērūr inscriptions of Parāntaka, the Bhattas had some special functions in the assembly. But we know what these functions were in Uttaramerur; they related mainly to the elections to the variyams or committees, and we have no evidence that the committee system obtained at Nalur. Or possibly, the reason lies in

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the nature of the transaction recorded. For what happened at that meeting was this. The assembly took 25 kāśu from the treasury of the temple of Mülasthänattu-mahadeva and in return made a perpetual assignment of a shop-cess (angādi-kkūli) to the temple. Therefore one of the temples in the village was a party to the transaction, and the specific statement that the particular session of the assembly was attended by the Bhattas is apparently intended to imply that the other party to the transaction was adequately represented in the assembly. The transaction itself constitutes an interesting specimen of the financial arrangements prevalent at the time. There is some urgent public work such as the making of a new road. the digging of or repairs to an irrigation tank—we do not learn what exactly it was in this case-which it is the duty of the village assembly to provide for and which it cannot meet from its normal resources; it raises a loan from the neighbouring temple which has a treasury as full as the people are pious, and as the assembly does not expect to be ever in a position to repay the principal amount of the loan, it makes some arrangement, in this case an assignment of the shop-cess, by which the interest due every year is secured to the creditor temple. It is a pity that we are unable to form an idea of the rate of interest on this loan; for though we are given particulars of the rate at which the cess was levied, we have no means of forming even a rough idea of its annual money-value. Again it is clear that a cess which, like the present one, was collected in kind at the rate of so much per kāśu of sale-proceeds (kāśin vā u nāli) of some articles, so much per heap of others sold in heaps, and so such per unit of yet other articles sold by weight or number, -such a cess must have varied considerably in its annual yield and there must

have been a large measure of goodwill on either side for such a vague and indefinite financial arrangement going through without a hitch.

We find further that the Sabhā often sells land (4-6), leases it for cultivation (13) or makes gifts (2) of Similar powers are exercised by assemblies of other types like the $\overline{U}r$, and Nagaram. As it is not possible for anyone to give away or sell what is not his own, we have necessarily to conclude that there was some land in the village which was held and administered in common by the whole village besides the individual holdings of each household in it. In one instance the Sabhā sells some of its land to an individual in the village (17). Lastly, we find that in late Cola times. in the reign of Rajaraja III, the Sabha of Nalur met under a tamarind tree outside the village. So also did another Sabhā (Brahmadēśam, N. A.) in A. D. 1044 * At that meeting the Sabhā sold some land to a Sēnāpati who was the brother of Vīramahādēvi. This queen had died perhaps committing suttee we are told that 'she entered the supreme feet of Brahma in the very same tomb in which the body of King Rajendra Cola was interred'-and her brother wanted to endow a drinking place to quench her thirst and that of her deceased husband, the Cola king, and the sale of land by the assembly was to enable the Senapati to start this propitiatory foundation. Is it far-fetched to suggest that the assembly met outside the village beneath a tamarind tree because it was engaged in some work not of auspicious import? A similar explanation may hold also in the case from Nālūr Tirumayāṇam. the decisions recorded, it seems probable that on this occasion the Sabhā assembled in the midst of a great commotion caused by some serious misconduct of

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some people in the village or by an apprehension of grave mischief on their part. The Sabhā decided "that the residents of their village should not do anything against the interests of their village nor against the temple of Tirumayāṇam-uḍaiyār and similar institutions; that if they did so, they must suffer as grāma-drohins did and that persons who acted against this decision should not be allowed the privilege of touching Siva etc." * Here we have a clear instance of the assembly acting as the authority responsible not only for the punishment of local offences but as the custodian of the general conduct of the villagers and the controller of their morals, so to say.

Nālūr with its neighbour called Tirumeynāṇam is at the present day a ruined hamlet far from the tracks of modern roads and railways; it has not been without interest to gain from the records on the walls of its ancient temples a peep into its busy life in the days when it shared the prosperity of the smiling lands of the Kāvēri delta.

UTTARAMĒRŪR

I A General Survey of its Administration

A fresh study of local government at Uttaramērūr in the Cola period after so many writers have traversed the ground may appear at once futile and venturesome. We may be told by those who have heard all about democracy and pot-tickets at Uttaramerur (and they are not few) that there can be nothing new in this twice-told tale and that it would be more useful to leave Uttaramērūr well alone and turn to some less trodden part of the field. And the promise implied in an attempt like the present one to discover new information, or to reinterpret old and well-known data may, in view of the narrow limits of the subject and the eminence of the scholars who have worked on it before, seem to be more courageous than discreet. Nevertheless the fact is that with the exception of Mr. Venkayya who did great work on the two inscriptions from Uttaramērūr which are best-known, and that only on account of his work, not many writers have done aught else than repeat his statements uncritically; and that this has happened a number of times has contributed most to prejudice the chances of a fresh examination of the Parantaka inscriptions above-mentioned and of a more comprehensive study of the new material published since 1904.

Our aim is to give in this essay a general account of the local history and administration of Uttaramērūr so far as it can be gathered from the inscriptions, and then, in the next paper, to re-examine the two

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inscriptions of Parantaka's reign which deal with the constitutional arrangements of the local Sabhā in the light of the fresh evidence that has come to hand since Mr. Venkayya drew such pointed attention to them.

The history of institutions is not so exciting as the study of political history and 'holds but small temptation to the mind that requires to be tempted to the study of truth.' It takes considerable effort to comprehend by patient study and reflection the true nature and functions of the different parts of a social mechanism evolved and worked under the stress of ideas much unlike our own. Nothing seems easier than to discover, if one is so minded, in the records of past ages traces of the latest devices in political and social organisation. And the quest for the new in the old sometimes imparts colour and feeling to a task in itself not so attractive.

Democracy as we now understand it, as a form of popular government, a state of society and an outlook on economic life, is essentially a modern conception. To import the associations of democracy in the interpretation of early Indian records, because some of them happen to mention elections and ballot, is unconsciously to raise fresh obstacles in the way of a correct understanding of the atmosphere surrounding the working of these and other institutions in ancient India. stressing the committee-system, the elections to the committees, and the employment of ballot in the elections, and then almost ignoring the whole complex of notions associated with caste, custom and religion which dominated social life in those times, one may find it easy to paint the picture of a society in which people cared much for political rights and representative institutions and regulated their conduct almost entirely on secular and rational considerations. But it seems

hardly worth while to make the attempt; for the doubtful satisfaction that may be derived from claiming modern wisdom for our ancestors is purchased at the cost of any chance of our knowing them as they were. From this point of view, it is perhaps an advantage that democracy does not rouse the same enthusiasm at the present day as it did some years ago. To cast a doubt on the democratic nature of ancient Indian society and government is no longer a mortal sin against patriotism.

The village that forms the subject of our study was doubtless a very large one. It was big enough to form a separate $k\bar{u}ru$ by itself and the numerous inscriptions that have come down to us are engraved on the walls of no fewer than seven temples * in the locality. Of these inscriptions, about sixty have been selected as the basis of the general account that follows of the administration and social life of Uttaramerur.

Uttaramērūr, which is about fifty miles by road to the south-west of Madras, is to-day a small and apparently flourishing town with a population of nearly 11,000. Despite the vicissitudes that have marked its history in the course of the wars waged by the English at first with the French and later with Haidar Ali and his son, Uttaramērūr has fairly preserved many of its most interesting antiquities. As will be seen from the plan of the town, the location of its chief temples shows that the site of the modern town has been in continuous occupation for more than 1200 years. The Kailāsanātha and the Mādari-Amman shrine opposite to it mark practically its eastern limit, if we omit from

^{*} They are: the temples of (1) Vaikunthaperumāļ (2) Sundaravaradapperumāļ (3) Subrahmaņya (4) Kailāsanātha (5) Koļambēsvara (6) IrattaittaļigaiĪsvara and (7) Mādari-Ammaņ.

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consideration suburbs like Tiruppulivalam. Almost in the heart of the town, on the main road stands the Vaikuntha-perumal temple, of which nothing of the original structure seems to have survived except the high basement which carries the most valuable inscriptions of the locality on its sides. A little to the west within a few furlongs, are the Sundaravarada and Subrahmanya temples very close to each other. To reach the big tank of Uttaramerur, doubtless the celebrated Vairameghatatāka of our inscriptions, a name no longer remembered, one has to go more than a mile to the west from the westernmost limits of the modern town, bearing the historic names Rājāmēdu and Māligaimēdu, the mound of the king and the mound of the palace. It is possible that excavation at these spots may yield results that would justify these popular names.

The oldest name of the village known to us is Uttaramēru-caturvēdimangalam. The form of the name suggests that, as Mr. Venkayya pointed out, the first member of this name must be the title, like Prabhumēru and Abhimānamēru, of some king whose identity still remains unknown. In the inscriptions of Vijayakampavarman, of somewhat uncertain date, and in the Rājakēsari and Parakēsari inscriptions some of which may be earlier than Parantaka I, the place is generally described in the following terms: "Kāliyūrköttattu tan-kūrruttaramēru-caturvēdimangalam," that is 'Uttaramēru - caturvēdimangalam of its own division (kūru) in the Kāliyūrkottam.' From the time of Rājēndracola I Parakēsari, the son and successor of Rājarāja, the place came to be called also Rājēndracola-caturvedimangalam, and its earlier name was abridged into Uttaramēru or Uttaramēlūr, the latter form giving rise to Uttiramallur, which is the most

common form to-day.* Very much later, about the middle of the thirteenth century, in the time of the ill-starred Rājarāja III, the village carried for a time the name of Gaṇḍagōpāla-caturvēdimaṅgalam, after an aggressive Telugu-Cōḍa chieftain of the time.

Our inscriptions range from the late Pallava times, that is from the last quarter of the eighth century A.D., to the downfall of the Cola empire in the middle of the thirteenth. Viewed generally. they furnish a striking, though by no means unique. example of the continuity of social life amidst political changes. They comprise records citing late Pallava monarchs, the early Cola conquerors of the Tondainad of the ninth and tenth centuries including Parantaka I, his Rāstrakūta enemy Kṛṣṇa III who gloried in his "capture of Kacci and Tanjai," and the somewhat mysterious Parthivendra-varman, before the almost unbroken series of Cola records commences with the reign of Rajaraja I. † Not only do the inscriptions thus reflect all the changes in the political situation in the land, but they furnish tangible evidence that the village Sabhā supplied the element of continuity in local life through such changes. Of many records at Uttaramērūr (and elsewhere) that go to prove such continuity, one of Kulottunga III dated in his thirty-seventh year, about A. D. 1215,

^{*} Uttiramēlūr, Uttaramallūr are other forms. The total ignorance that has prevailed in modern times of the true origin of the name is seen from the local tradition, recorded by Crole, that the town was built by Uttirakumaran son of a rāja who reigned in Virāṭa, a town on the Jumna river. (Manual of the Chingleput District p. 132). I have not been able to get at the local sthalapurāna, the existence of which was reported to me by a teacher in the local High School when I visited the place.

[†] There is a considerable gap of over three quarters of a century, not merely in our list here, but in the collection itself between Vikrama Cola and Kulottunga III.

peculiar importance. In this record of the thirteenth century are recalled transactions which were over three centuries old, and at the instance of the authorities of the temple concerned, the Sabhā gives a fresh undertaking to carry out, although on a somewhat reduced scale, the obligations laid upon their ancestors several generations before. The nature of this agreement and the employment of the phrase 'our ancestors' (engal pūrva purusāhal) by the Sabhā in mentioning the old endowments, alike show that the idea of a corporation with a continuous life of its own, independent of its personnel which naturally varied from time to time, was clearly grasped by both parties to the agreement. And a little consideration shows also that the primary sanction behind such long-standing engagements is to be found in a general readiness to act up to a proper standard of equity which, though not precisely defined beforehand, can yet be ascertained in each separate case by argument and accommodation. In this instance, though it is not explicit, we may infer that the Sabhā had for some time defaulted in the maintenance of some old endowments for eight lamps in the temple; the authorities of the temple, when they discovered the default, drew the attention of the Sabhā to it, citing the old records engraved on the stone walls of two temples as evidence; the Sabhā pleaded inability to provide for the daily requirements of all the lamps concerned (nittattēvai - irukka - mudiyāmai). It would appear that the temple authorities had not been very prompt in their discovery of the default and were constrained to admit the force of the Sabhā's pleading that, in the conditions prevalent at the time, they found it impossible to meet the ancient obligations in their entirety, and a compromise was reached. It is conceivable that if no agreement had been arrived at, an appeal might have

been carried by either side to the appropriate official representing the king in the locality, or in the last resort to the king himself, who would have had then to adjudicate the matter.

The Sabhā was only one among several corporations organized on more or less similar lines, though doubtless the most important among them as administering the general affairs of the locality and looking after local interests as a whole. The details of the constitution of the Sabhā of Uttaramērūr and its standing committees will form the subject of a full discussion later. Some attention may be given here to the other bodies which shared with the Sabha the tasks of managing local concerns and ensuring local well-being. We have just noticed the authorities called Māhēsvaras and Sthanattar who were particularly concerned with the daily affairs of the temple of Tiruppulivalamudaiyār. The Pērilamaiyār, who are once said to be 'of two sides', the Śraddhāmantar, the Vīragaņattar, the Kaliganattar, and the Śri-kṛṣṇagaṇattar, as also the Śrī-vaisnava Vāriyar appear to be instances of religious corporations of a quasi-public character which received the recognition due to the public importance of their work and the degree of success that attended them in its performance. The occurrence of gana and vārivar in these names must be noticed.

There were also groups bound by ties of contiguity and several examples of such groups occur in our inscriptions. Thus the residents of Sankarappādi in the north-bazaar (vaḍakkilaṅgāḍi śaṅkarappāḍiyōm) acted as trustees for some charitable funds, and elected three persons to a committee for testing the fineness of gold. The māḍavīdiyār (residents of the main streets) elected four other members to the same

committee. We learn from the inscriptions of the twelfth and fourteenth years of Parantaka I that Uttaramērūr was divided into twelve śēris (streets, as Mr. Venkayya renders the word). We shall see that an attempt to get the standing committees of the Sabhā to represent the seris as such had to be given up within a couple of years after it started. But the people of each of the sēris—the names of eight of them occur in the inscriptions *-often became trustees for charitable funds. † Manifestly the most important, after the Sabhā. among such groups united by the bond of contiguity. was the $\bar{U}r$ of the village. ' $\bar{U}r$ ' may not at first sight seem to convey the notion of a specific corporate body with separate functions in the local economy of a place and an independent existence of its own. A superficial acquaintance with the texts of the numerous Tamil inscriptions in which these terms occur is enough, however, to lead one to the conclusion that it is often necessary, in the contexts, to interpret these words as conveying the idea of a body analogous to the Sabhā in many respects, and that a vague translation of $\overline{U}r$ and $\bar{U}r\bar{o}m$ into 'village' and 'we, the inhabitants of the village ' is hardly satisfactory. Uttaramerur, moreover, is not the only place where we get evidence of the $\overline{U}r$ existing by the side of the Sabhā in the same locality.

Though there is a great amount of uncertainty about the origin and the early history of these organisations, the suggestion may be made that the $\overline{U}r$ represents in every case the more primitive local

^{*} Viz., (1) Gövindaccëri, (2) Hṛṣikëśaccëri, (3) Nārāyaṇaccëri, (4) Paṇmaiccëri, (5) Trivikramaccëri, (6) Vāmanaccëri, (7) Madhusūdanaccëri, (8) Abhimānamēruccēri. The names Mahīpālakulakālaccēri, and Muḍikoṇḍasōlccēri also occur; but one cannot be sure that they were not new names for older divisions, rather than separate divisions.

^{† 190} of 1923.

organisation indigenous to the Tamil country, the lineal descendant of the ancient manram; and that the Sabhā was, generally, a later superimposition. It is clear, at any rate, that as the Sabhā was the general local assembly in Brahmadeya villages, the $\bar{U}r$ was the prevalent form in some other types. And the simplest explanation of the existence side by side, as in Uttaramerur, of both the organisations is to suppose that the \overline{U}_r was the more ancient form and that the Sabhā came on top of it when, at the will of some king or chieftain, a considerable number of new Brahman residents, often representing the highest learning in the land, were settled in the village, and endowed with perpetual rights of property in a part of the village lands. That danas (gifts) came to take the place of importance among acts of religious merit, and that the bhuduna (gift of land) was considered more meritorious than any other dana in the period we are dealing with, are facts sufficiently well-established on the evidence of epigraphy and literature. The lands were usually purchased by the donors from previous owners, individuals or corporations of one kind or another, and then given away for the purpose intended. Several instances can be cited in which all the previous owners of the lands in a certain locality were bought out and the existing leases for cultivation terminated by payment of compensation, * in order that an absolutely unencumbered dēvadāna might be made, or a fresh brahmadēya, usually a caturvēdimangalam, might be formed. But doubtless there were villages which, though too large to be so bought up, on account of the numbers involved and the extent and complexity of property-rights in them, yet afforded ample facilities

^{*} This is what, I think, constitutes the chief point of the distinction drawn in inscriptions between the two forms: Kudiningina and Kudiningā.

for the creation of new settlements in their neighbourhood. It was in such cases that the problem arose of adjusting the relations between the old and the new settlements; and it seems reasonable to suppose that the continued existence of the more ancient $\bar{U}r$ by the side of the new $Sabh\bar{a}$ was secured as part of the new order.

The relations between the two bodies in Uttaramërur are seen, though only in a rather hazy manner. from our records, all of which belong to the period became a caturvēdiman galam. after Uttaramērūr Almost all of them are engraved in the name of the Sabhā; there does not seem to have been at Uttaramērūr a single instance in which the $\bar{U}r$ made an independent record of its transactions. This feature together with the fact that the $\bar{U}r$ almost ceases to be heard of early in the period of our study—we have apparently no reference to it from the time of Rajaraja I-may raise the presumption that the $\overline{U}r$ and the Sabhā were partners in an unequal combination which in the long run worked to the disadvantage of the weaker side. That the $\overline{U}r$, however, had in the beginning some distinct rights and privileges of its own and that it continued to exercise them actively, though in collaboration with if not under the supervision of the Sabhā and its committees, till at least the end of the tenth century A. D., is amply borne out by the epigraphs. In the fifteenth year of Parantaka I (A. D. 922), for instance, the $\overline{U}r$ sold some lands * to two temples for lamps and offerings and was, by special sanction of the Sabhā, allowed to perform some duties, which normally attached to the samvatsaravāriyam of the Sabhā. Again, it took charge of a gold endowment for a lamp, † and agreed to

^{*} No. 8 of 1898. + 89 of 1898.

submit to the supervision of the samvatsaravāriyam in this matter. More significant of the extent of the powers exercised by the $\overline{U}r$ is its assignment * of taxes and dues to be paid by the entire hamlet of Ullivur for the benefit of the İsvara temple in that locality-an assignment coupled with the specific exemption of the people of Ullivur from all external interference in their management of the affairs of their temple. We have also instances † in which the Sabhā required the $\bar{U}r$ not to collect any dues (irai) from certain lands which had been made tax-free, and gave away lands from among those that, owing to default in payment of the dues (irai), had become the property of the $\overline{U}r$; in one of these cases the $\overline{U}r$ gave its consent and agreed not to make any collections, and in the other, it was apparently reimbursed for the loss of revenue. Lastly, the $\bar{U}r$ had an executive committee of its own which was called the "ruling group," (āļungaņattar). ‡ We learn nothing, however, as to the method by which its members were chosen, or the period of their office.

The existence by the side of the Sabhā of numerous corporations, religious and local, some doubtless economic also, and the way in which they dominated some little corner or other in the local polity is thus one of the most significant and well-attested facts of mediaeval life in Uttaramērūr. It was a veritable network of diverse jurisdictions and liberties not always clearly

^{* 41} of 1898.

⁺ S. I. I. III, Nos. 152 and 162.

[‡] No. 3 of 1898: 'emmūr-yāļungaṇattāruļ' (l. 1). There is a slight difficulty, easily got over by a little experience, in our distinguishing the different senses in which 'ār' is used in the inscriptions. It seems to have at least two meanings, one corporate and the other geographical. Thus 'emmūrtten-pidāgai' which immediately follows the expression quoted above can hardly mean anything other than 'the southern division of our village.' See also 58 of 1898 (l. 3—ivvūr-yāļungaṇattāruļ.)

marked off from one another. The Sabhā was indeed the most considerable among them all; but it had to respect the privileges, even the susceptibilities, of the numerous other ganas and associations of a voluntary and quasi-public character, of the hereditary caste and trade corporations and so on, and might itself be called upon to explain its default in particular matters by the associations affected by it. Almost every sphere of life was so dominated by group-organisations that the individual was of little account and had to function through some group or other. There was no written law, or even a distinctly formulated principle intended to govern the conduct of these groups; they acted for the most part in their separate spheres of social work, and came together occasionally for considering specific questions of common concern. In this manner they found it possible to evolve a workable procedure to secure mutual understanding and adjustment. And in the days when there existed an organised central government not altogether lacking in executive strength—this was the rule under the Cola kings the power of the king and his officials was a sort of reserve in the background to be drawn upon when the forces of local regulation failed to function properly or, in extreme cases, broke down altogether.

The inscriptions furnish much valuable information on the history and the functions of the Sabhā, and these may now be briefly discussed. In the earliest inscriptions in our collection of the reign of Dantivarman, the Sabhā comes before us as a mature and well-established institution apparently exercising all the powers that it ever exercised in later times. It sold land, accepted and undertook the administration of an endowment for dredging a tank, and made an important settlement

(vyavasthai) * in which the $\overline{U}r$ was assigned some duties with regard to lands deserted by poor tenants who could not pay the dues on them; a little later, under Nandivarman, it laid down the qualifications and the tenure for the place of arcaka in the temple of Tiruppulivalam-udaiyar. These early records also contain noteworthy references to variyar and variyapperumakkaļ. In one instance † the vārigur are clearly officers subordinate to the Sabhā, and take their orders from it. There is nothing to show whether they were individual officers or members of a committee; and we have no information on the period for which the office was held. Another record I of about the middle of the ninth century mentions the vāriyapperumakkal. The phrase may mean 'great men doing vāriyam' and may be only another form of the term 'vāriyar'; but it looks very much like meaning "members of the variyam," the last being understood as a committee. But it should be noticed that there is no reference whatever to the Sabhā in this record, and possibly the variyam of this record had nothing to do with the Sabhā. Further, even if the omission to mention the Sabhā be neglected, and the vāriyam understood as a committee of the Sabhā, it should still be observed that the variuam would then be a general committee of a non-specialised character, unlike the specialised 'tank', 'garden' and other committees of later times. The inscriptions of Vijayakampavarman,

^{*}The word "sāmanths" (61 of 1898) is not easy; and until it is properly interpreted, the nature of the settlement made on this occasion must remain doubtful. The \overline{Ur} seems to have been responsible for the proper payment of land dues by the cultivators. In a later inscription we get the phrase; "lands that escheated to the \overline{Ur} (lit. fell towards it) because the dues on them were not paid." (17 of 1898).

⁺⁷⁴ of 1898.

^{‡ 68} of 1898.

as also of the unidentified Cōlas, Rājakēsari and Parakēsari, mention the 'annual tank committee';* but the chronological place of these kings is so uncertain that no definite inference can be drawn from these records as to the period when specialised committees came into existence at Uttaramērūr. We must observe also that the Sabhā used the term vyavasthai for describing the record of important decisions arrived at on matters that came up for consideration before it.

The inscriptions of the twelfth and fourteenth years of Parantaka I, discussed in the next study, will be seen to fall in their proper perspective only when viewed on the background furnished by the data gathered so far from the earlier records of Uttaramērūr. The Parantaka inscriptions would thus appear to be not a ready-made constitution imposed ab extra by royal writ, but only to mark a stage, albeit an important stage, in a continuous evolution from within, brought about by the pressure of circumstance and the wisdom born of experience. That the Sabhā of Uttaramērūr was the architect of its own constitutional arrangements, that it showed an uncommon readiness to follow the method of trial and error in its efforts to solve the local problems of the time, is rendered clear by another curious record of the fifteenth year of Parantaka I, the year following that in which Parantaka is generally supposed to have finally fixed the constitution Uttaramērūr. Published only three years ago, this inscription † has long escaped the attention that is due It is a vyavasthai of the Sabhā which regulated the procedure to be followed for testing the fineness of the gold that was in current use in the village, 'emmūril parimārum pon samanjasan-gānbadarkku.' By

^{* 65} of 1898; 10 of 1898; 75 of 1898.

[†] No. 12 of 1898 (S. I. I. VI., No. 295.)

this resolution, a committee was set up consisting of nine persons neither too old nor too young, from those among the tax-paying citizens who had a reputation for testing gold (irai-kudikalil pon-kāna vallārenappadu-These were to be chosen by the method of not-tickets, four from the madavidi; two from sēnai (?), and the remaining three from śankarappādi. were to test gold for all people impartially, and to adopt certain methods laid down for the test; they had to hand over to the tank committee the entire quantity of the meluku on which gold was rubbed (for the test) and to take an oath, once in three months, before the samvatsaravāriyam (year-committee), in the prescribed manner, that they would discharge their duties truly and honestly in accordance with the resolution of the Sabhā inscribed on stone. Though it is not expressly stated, it seems very likely that in this decision the Sabhā was reconsidering arrangements implied in the constitution of the 'gold committee' (pon-vāriyam) by the inscription of the preceding year. committee either superseded the old one, or probably intended only to assist it in the discharge of its duties. One important qualification insisted on for membership of the new committee is competence in the assaying of gold; it may have furnished the technical assistance required for the work of the pon-variyam for which no provision had been made before. Although, therefore, every act of the Sabhā was in form an act for all time, for 'as long as the sun and moon endure' or something to that effect, nothing was immutable, and there was no lack of readiness to make fresh adjustments to meet new situations as they arose.

Few records throw any clear light on the normal relation between the Sabhā and the central government. Besides the two inscriptions of Parāntaka's reign

on the constitution of the committees, there appears to be only one of the time of Kulottunga III which contains a direct reference to an order made by the king to the Sabhā and carried out by it. there are two copies * of this interesting inscription, the circumstances that led to the king's interference are by no means clear. On being petitioned by a priest, a certain Cēdirājadēva had decided to set apart (nīkkina padiyē) ten vēlis of land as arcanābhoga for two shrines in the village; and the king's order required that in accordance with that decision, the Sabhā was to convert the land into arcanābhoga-iraivili, and engrave the deed on the walls of the temple named. The order was addressed to the Sabhā (namakku prasādanieydaruli tirumugam vandamaiyil). There are many examples of alienation of land as iraiyili by the Sabhā for religious purposes without the slightest reference to the king or his officers. In this transaction, however, the initiative in the act of alienation was taken by Cēdirājadēva, perhaps an officer in the king's service, and the matter went up to the king either on account of a hitch that arose with the Sabhā in putting the transaction through, or simply because no official could deal with the Sabhā in such matters except through the king. Another difficulty in understanding this record fully arises from the fact that the status of the land proposed for alienation is not clear. There is no suggestion of any payment having been made either for the value of the land or as compensation for the loss of revenue incurred. The land therefore should have belonged either to the village or to the king. Or was it an unappropriated common in which both the Sabhā and the king had somewhat indefinite rights?

^{• 175} of 1923 and 76 of 1898.

The amplitude of the functions exercised by the Sabhā and its sustained regard for the physical and cultural amenities then available to the inhabitants of the locality are fully borne out by our inscriptions which range over nearly five centuries. A careful study of the details recorded in them will not fail to convey the impression that during these centuries the people of Uttaramerur were, to a very large extent, left free to work out their own destinies without let or hindrance and that, on the whole, they seem to have done this very well indeed. It would be too long a task to write out fully the innumerable little details that help to form the impression. Attention may be drawn, however, to some of the more salient aspects of local life in which the Sabhā evinced an Incidentally, we shall touch upon some aspects of the Sabhā's administration which cannot be more adequately treated in the present state of our knowledge, or rather the lack of it.

Agriculture was naturally the primary concern of the Sabhā. Not only was it the mainstay of the economic life of the country in which every peasant was interested, and they were all peasants then, but the Sabhā itself was, in one way and another, a great landowner, perhaps the greatest in the locality, and was as such interested in the proper maintenance of facilities for irrigation, transport and so on. And it is a remarkable fact that private charity often came to ease the work of the Sabhā by adding considerably to the financial resources at its disposal. Thus the large irrigation tank of the village, the Vairamēgha-taṭāka, was kept in good repair by the silt being removed once a month with endowed funds ear-marked for the purpose and placed at the disposal of the Sabhā by a private donor.*

Another inscription, * undated but doubtless among the earliest on the south wall of the Vaikuntha-perumal temple, records another large private gift of 100 kalanju of gold which was handed over to the Perunguri Sabhā to enable it to employ a second boat $(\bar{o}dam)$ and pay wages $(\bar{a}l\ k\bar{u}li)$ for removing one kuliof earth every day from the bed of the tank to the top of its bund, and thus to remove 360 kulis of mud every year. There are some more records of a like nature. These records and the creation of a special tank committee (eri-variyam) by the assembly show that the proper maintenance of this large tank was among the primary pre-occupations of the villagers. The deputy tahsildar of Uttaramerur performs to-day some of the functions discharged in olden days by the eri-variyam with reference to this tank; for as Mr. Crole notes, † "one of the most important duties of the deputy tahsildar is securing the yearly supply of the tank, which is effected by the construction of a temporary dam in the river Cheyyar, several miles west of Uttaramerur." The special emphasis laid in our inscriptions on the extent and regularity of dredging operations in the tank is also easily explained by the observation of Mr. Crole that "owing to the want of a masonry sluice and protective works at the head of this channel the tank is silting up very much"; and his further remark that "the supply is rendered precarious owing to the river topping its banks and breaching into and obliterating the channel", may have been equally true of the period of the Pallava and Cola rulers. Altogether the creation and maintenance of this splendid tank 'with a revenue of Rupees 25,000 dependent on it' (the figure relates to 1879 or thereabout), and the solicitous care

^{• 69} A of 1898 S. I. I. VI, 353.

⁺ Chingleput Manual p. 135.

shown by the Sabhā and the people of the locality in keeping it in constant repair furnish striking testimony to the enlightened methods of ancient Hindu administration which have compelled the wonder and admiration of thoughtful critics.

When a road was submerged under water and thereupon became unfit for use, the Sabhā decided to renew the road and widen it by purchasing adjacent lands from the ryots, * the cost being provided apparently from its own funds. The supply of drinking water in a public place was provided by income from a private endowment of funds invested at 15% per annum and supervised by the tank committee of the Sabhā. † When the Sabhā lacked funds for capital expenditure of an urgent nature it had resort to a loan from the treasury of a temple, and we have an instance of a large loan paid off with interest by the Sabhā by the alienation of some land and the dues thereon, and the record of the transaction is described by the expressive name iraņakrayāvaņa-kkaiyeļuttu, a deed of sale-fordebt. † The record of this sale shows that the Sabhā had its own pottakam and vari, record books showing existing property-rights and tax-dues, ¶ and that these books were kept up-to-date by appropriate entries being made in them at the end of every transaction affecting these rights and dues.

Most of the inscriptions furnish evidence that, in collaboration with the authorities of each separate temple, the Sabhā exercised a constant general supervision and control of the affairs of the temples, regulated the qualifications of the priests conducting

^{* 9} of 1898.

^{+ 75} of 1898.

^{1 68} of 1898.

[¶] It will be seen that the names of many of these dues occur in our records I refrain from a discussion of these difficult terms in this study.

worship, fixed the turns of worship among them, and administered the endowments for the supply of flowers, oil, ghi or other offerings, and so on. It has been "they were rightly said of Hindu temples * that fortresses, treasuries, court-houses, parks, exhibition-sheds, halls of learning and of pleasure, all in one," and unless the large place filled by the temple in the social and economic life of its neighbourhood is firmly grasped, it would not be easy to understand why the kings and their chieftains, the village-assemblies and the people were so constantly pre-occupied with the temple and its affairs. It may be observed, in passing. that when private persons rendered any extraordinary service of lasting value to a temple, it was recognised by distinctions, sometimes of a hereditary character, being conferred on them by the Sabhā and the authorities of the temple concerned. † The subtle appeal to personal vanity that is made by public honours and that often leads to large benefactions from the rich is thus not altogether modern.

The education of the people was recognised as important. We have no direct information on the arrangements that obtained for imparting instruction in the more elementary stages of the pupils' course, or on the extent to which the people were generally eager to secure the benefits of schooling to their children. It is hardly to be expected that inscriptions can tell us everything, especially on routine matters of life about which there was nothing striking. But considering that Uttaramērūr was a dominantly Brahman village, and taking into account the number of special schools for higher study that are mentioned by the inscriptions, it appears legitimate to infer that educational facilities

[•] Ind. Ant. Vol. XXIV p. 256 n. 41.

^{† 172, 180} and 183 of 1923.

must have been more general, and more generally availed of than we are apt to imagine on a priori grounds. We must not also imagine that all education was Sanskritic in character and that no attention was paid to Tamil. The facts that inscriptions were engraved in prominent public places where people could read them, that the language of most of them was Tamil though with a large mixture of Sanskrit terms, that the inscriptions often reflected features of the patois of the time and were engraved by artisans of the village—these point to the conclusion that there was no wide gap between the language of the people and the education and administration of the land. education was necessarily Sanskritic in character especially in places where, as in Uttaramerur, it was in the hands of the Sabhā. The Sabhā of Uttaramērūr, endowed at different times * a Vyākaraņa-śāstra-vyākhyāvrtti for the study of grammar and language, a Bhavisya-kkidaippuram for instruction perhaps in the Bhavisya Purāṇa, if not in a Bhavisya Śākhā, being imparted by a teacher resident in the village, and a Taittirīya-kkidaippuram obviously for the study of the Black Yajur-Veda, as well as a Vājasanēya-kkidaippuņam for the White Yajur-Veda. Another very interesting record which, though it bears no date, may be assigned with confidence to the tenth or the eleventh century, registers an important educational endowment by a lady. The inscription † is unfortunately partly built in, and some words are thus lost at the beginning of every line. The general drift of the record is, however, very clear. A lady by name Sannaiccani ‡ alias Uttaramērunangai created a Bhattavrtti (teaching-endowment),

^{* 18, 29} and 33 of 1898, also 194 of 1923 The word "Kidai" means a Vedic School, more generally a religious school.

^{+ 39} of 1898.

[‡] cani (-sani) often appears as an honorific suffix to female names in our inscriptions.

and placed it under the perpetual supervision of her younger brother, a certain Nārāyanadatta-bhatta, and his descendants and the Mahāsabhā of the village who undertook to pay all the dues on the lands set apart by the terms of the endowment. The nature of the supervision is laid down in considerable detail. the qualifications for admission to a share in the Bhattavrtti are mentioned proficiency in not less than one Veda together with Vyākaraņa and the two daršanas of the Mimāmsā: something (?) combined with a knowledge of Nrttabhāṣya; proficiency in not less than one Veda together with competence in expounding Vyākaraņa, the Nyāyabhāṣya with vārttika, and the Vaisesika with its tīkā (commentary). It is also laid down that no one who had a share in the village-lands was entitled to participate in the Bhattavrtti. who, having satisfied the trustees with regard to their qualifications, gained admission to the Bhattavrtti were to reside for a period of three years in the matha raised by the donor on the shore of a tank dug out by her, and during the period of their residence, they were apparently to impart instruction in their respective subjects to pupils selected by them after a preliminary examination (parīkṣai koṇḍu apūrvikaļukkē paṇippadāgavum). Not only does this inscription throw much welcome light on the state of higher learning at the time, but it furnishes a model for the administration of higher education which many a modern university of our country might envy.

The permanent appointment of a 'curer of poisons' * (viṣahara), the provision for the recital of hymns † in temples and the mention of mathas ‡ are other noteworthy facts.

^{* 36} of 1898.

^{† 194} of 1928; 181 of 1923.

^{1 184} and 168 of 1923.

APPENDIX I.

A select list of inscriptions from Uttaramērūr chronologically arranged.

Pallava Inscriptions.

Dantivarman.

- Year 7. (c. A. D. 782) Perunguri Sabhā sells land to a Svāmikumāra Caturvēda Somayāji for digging a tank and raising a bund for it—the tank being called Svāmikumārakuṭṭam. (80 of 1898.)
- Year 9. (c. A. D. 784) A private endowment accepted by the Sabhā for dredging the Vairamēgha tank. The Sabhā ordered that the proceeds of the endowment must, without being spent in any other manner, be utilised every month by the vāriyar for the time being for dredging the tank (kuļi-kuttuvadāka).

(74 of 1898).

Year 21, day 122. (c. A. D. 796) Sabhā made a vyavasthā (settlement) regarding the lands of the cultivators owning lands in the village (emmūr pūmi uḍaiya kuḍiyaḷ) (61 of 1898).

Nandivarman.

(c. A. D. 850) A detailed regulation of an arcanā-bhōga (endowment for worship) by the Sabhā. Four paṭṭi of land was set apart for a Brahmacāri Brāhmaṇa who could repeat the Veda and was of good character (pārāyaṇa-mārgam vēdam vallāṇāyuktaṇāgiya) carrying on the arcanā in the Tiruppulivalam-uḍaiyār temple. The appointment was to be for a term of three years on each occasion. The date of the record is obtained by reading this together with No. 72 of 1898 of year 24 of Nandivarman. (71 of 1898).

Nṛ patungavar man.

Year 16. (c. A. D. 865) No mention of the Sabhā as such. The vāriyapperumakka! were to protect the endowment, by a lady, of 13 kalaīju of gold for a lamp.

(63 of 1898).

Vijayakampavarman.

Of uncertain date. Hultzsch suggests that he might have been a brother of Nrpatunga (E. I. VII. p. 196) and remarks apropos of the Nandi-Kampēśvara temple at Śōlapuram (North Arcot): "As the alphabet of the inscriptions of Vijayakampa, Kampavarman or Vijayakampavikramavarman resembles that of the inscriptions of Vijaya Dantivikramavarman, Vijaya Nandivikramavarman and Vijaya Nrpatungavikramavarman, I feel tempted to explain Nandi-Kampa by 'Kampa the son of Nandi' and to assume that Kampavarman was a son of Nandivikramavarman and a brother of Nrpatungavikramavarman."

- Year 6. Mentions a share including house and śrāvaņai (maṇaiyum śrāvaṇaiyum uḷḷiṭṭa oru paṅgu) 1. 2. (64 of 1898).
- Year 8. Endowment by a member of the executive committee of the $\overline{U}r$; emm $\overline{u}r$ -y \overline{a} lunganattar. (3 of 1898).
- Year 8. Sabhā orders some fines accruing from certain defaults to be set apart for the Vairamēgha taṭāka. (85 of 1898).
 - Year 9. A vyavasthai (settlement) by the Sabhā. (7 of 1898).
- Year 10. A record by a member of the yāļunganattar. The members of the tank committee (ērivāriya-pperumakkaļ) are mentioned. (11 of 1898).

Year 18. Mentions the members of the tank committee for each year (avva-vāṇḍu ēri-vāriya-pperu-makkaļē) 1.5. (65 of 1898).

Year 21. A large endowment of 200 kalanju yielding 30 k. as interest for dredging the Vairamegha tatāka and the grateful recognition of it by the Sabhā. (84 of 1898).

Cola Inscriptions.

Rājakēsari and Parakēsari records (unidentified).

.....Kēsarivarman, Year 3—The residents of Śańkarappāḍi in the north bazaar of Uttaramēru-caturvēdimańgalam take fifteen kaḷañju of gold from an individual and agree to keep a perpetual lamp burning in the temple of Mahādēva at Tiruppulivalam. (78 of 1898).

Parakēsarivarman.

Year lost—The year committee (samvatsara-vāriya) of every year was, on behalf of the Sabhā, to supply, from an endowment, one quarter of a measure of oil every day for a lamp before the Mahādēva of the eastern structure, in the temple of Jyēṣṭhā on the banks of the lake in Kumaṇapāḍi. (10 of 1898).

Parakēsari.

Year 16, day 257. The Mahāsabhā of Uttaramērūr assigned tax-free land to the temple of Mahādēva in the neighbouring village of Tīṭṭāttūr. (4 of 1898).

$R\bar{a}jak\bar{e}sari.$

Year 8. Land sold tax-free by the Sabhā for feeding twenty Brahmans daily in the temple of Kurukṣētra in the village. The Mahāsabhā ordered

that the charity should be administered by those who managed the temple affairs. (40 of 1898).

Year 8. A resolution (javasthai) of the assembly not to take paṭṭikāḍi. (?) The meeting is described in the quaint terms: ābāla-vṛddhar-amaiya eppērppaṭṭadum niramba-kkūḍi-yirundu i. e., "everybody including the young and the old met and sat in the full assembly."

(62 of 1898).

Year 17. An order (incomplete) of the $Mah\bar{a}sabh\bar{a}$ on endowments for worship in two temples of the locality ($emm\bar{u}r$). (91 of 1898).

Year 26, day 280. A gold endowment, for a shed for the supply of drinking water, bearing interest at 3 mañjāḍi per kaḷañju or 15%, placed under the purview of the members of the tank committee (ēri-vāriyañjeyyum-perumakkaḷ) doing duty from year to year.

(75 of 1898).

Parāntaka I. (A. D. 907-c. 952).

Year 12 (A. D. 919). Settlement of the constitutional rules for the election of committees of the Sabhā. (2 of 1898).

Year 14 (A. D. 921). Revision of the rules mentioned in the last record. (1 of 1898).

Year 15 (A. D. 922). Inscription of the $Sabh\bar{a}$; also mentions $Mahas\bar{a}bhai$ -ttiruva $d\bar{q}i$. The $\bar{U}r$ sold some lands to two temples for lamps and offerings. The duty of administering these charities was, by the orders of the $Mah\bar{a}sabh\bar{a}$, ordinarily the work of the $samvatsarav\bar{a}riyam$; but in this instance the $\bar{U}r$ was allowed to undertake the duties. (8 of 1898).

Year 15, day 55, (A. D. 922). A resolution of the Sabhā regulating procedure to be followed for testing

the fineness of gold in the transactions of the village. Nine persons neither too young nor too old were to be chosen from among the tax-paying citizens by the method of pot-tickets— $m\bar{a}dav\bar{a}diy\bar{a}r$ to elect four, $S\bar{e}nai$ (?) to elect two, $Sankar\bar{a}pp\bar{a}di$ to elect three; and their duties and relations to the $\bar{e}ri$ - $v\bar{a}riyam$ and samvatsara- $v\bar{a}riyam$ were defined in detail. (12 of 1898).

- Year 16. (A. D. 923). The Sabhā decided that a road that had been submerged and had therefore become unfit for use even by cattle, should be renewed and widened by the purchase of land from the ryots, and assigned the duty to the garden committee and an officer called $\bar{u}r$ - $m\bar{e}l$ -ninra-tiruvadi. (9 of 1898).
- Year 24. (A. D. 931). An endowment of gold for a lamp, by the son of a member of the ruling group (āļungaņattār), left by the Sabhā under the supervision of the tank committee. (58 of 1898).

Inscriptions of Kannaradeva who took Kacci and Tañjai towards the close of Parantaka I's reign.

Year 18. An endowment, by a Brahman lady, of 121/2 $Kala\bar{n}ju$ of gold left in charge of the $\bar{U}r$ of Uttaramer $\bar{u}r$ for a lamp, the charity to be supervised by the samvatsara-v $\bar{a}riyam$ of each year. The inscription was engraved under orders from the $Mah\bar{a}sabh\bar{a}$.

(89 of 1898).

Year 23, day 296. An inscription of the $Mah\bar{a}sabh\bar{a}$. It is a record of an assignment of taxes or dues from Ulliyūr by the $\bar{U}r$ of Uttaramērūr to the temple of Īśvara in Ulliyūr itself, said to be in the southern division ($tenpid\bar{a}kai$), as provision for music for $śr\bar{\imath}bali$ thrice a day. The record also says that the people of Ulliyūr will themselves protect the temple and that no

chief so ever shall enter the temple (epperppatta kovum puga-pperādāgavum). (41 of 1898).

Year 25. An interesting but difficult record containing a resolution of the *Perunguri Sabhā* relating to fines and their prompt collection; mentions *grāma-kāryanjeyyum-perumakka!* of every year. (77 of 1898).

Inscriptions of Pārthivēndravarman, * the contemporary of Āditya II.

Year 2. Order of the *Perunguri Sabhā* making some lands tax-free. The $\overline{U}r$ agreed not to collect any *irai* from these lands.

(S. I. II 152; 88 of 1898).

- Year 3. The *Perunguri Sabhā* gave land as $vy\bar{a}khy\bar{a}vrtti$ to the person who expounded the $vy\bar{a}karana$ \$\sigma sastra\$ in that town. (S.I.I. III 161; 18 of 1898).
- Year 3. The *Perunguri Sabhā* gave to the temple some of the land which had fallen to the village for default in paying its dues (*irai-yirādu ūr-nōkki vilunda bhūmi*). (S. I. I. III 162; 17 of 1898).
- Year 4. The *Perunguri Sabhā* records its sale to a merchant of some land to be endowed by him as Śrībalibhōga. The land was made tax-free.

(S. I. I. III 171; 55 of 1898).

Year 5. Inscription of *Perunguri Sabhā*. Land was set apart as tax-free *viṣaharabhōga*. The appointment to the place of *viṣahara* (curer of poisons) was to be made from time to time by the *Sabhā*.

(S. I. I. III 177; 36 of 1898).

^{*} It is not improbable that this was only another name of Aditya himself. See S. I. I. III No. 158.

Year 7. The *Perunguri Sabhā* declared some land belonging to a temple tax-free after getting $p\bar{u}rv\bar{a}c\bar{a}ram$ from an individual. (S. I. III 183; 79 of 1898).

Year 12, day 326. The Mahāsabhā remitted, after receiving pūrvācāra, taxes on some lands purchased from the agriculturists (kuḍikaḥ) of the village by queen Tribhuvaṇamahādēvi and handed over by her to a Viṣṇu temple erected by Koṅgaraiyar as provision for śrībali. Those who violated this charity were to be amerced 25 kaḥañju each by the Śraddhāmantas themselves. (S. I. III 194; 49 of 1898).

Inscriptions of Rājarāja I Rājakēsari.

Year 9, day 158. (c. A. D. 994) An incomplete record. Mentions the mukha-maṇḍapa of the Tulābhāra-śrī-kōyil as the place where the assembly met to regulate the payment by the several castes and communities of Uttaramērūr of fines imposed on them.

(197 of 1923).

- Year 22. (c. A. D. 1007) Gift of sheep by a lady of Vāmaṇaccēri for a lamp in a temple. The Pēriļamaiyār were responsible to the Sabhā for the maintenance of the lamp. Punishment for default was meted out by the 'annual supervision committee' (samvatsara-vāriyañ-jeykinṇa perumakkaļ) along with śrī vaiṣṇavarāṇa emberumāṇaḍiyār, the devotees of the temple. (163 of 1923).
- Year 23. (c. A. D. 1008) Endowment of lamps by a merchant of Naduvilangadi and a resident of Govindacceri. The Viraganattar were made trustees for the merchant's gift. (187 of 1923).
- Year 23. (c. A. D. 1008) Gift of sheep for a lamp by a merchant of Terkilangadi (the south bazaar). The Kāliganattar were trustees. (189 of 1923).

- Year 25, day 154 (c. A. D. 1010) Land given by Perunguri Sabhā for tiruccennadai to the temple of Purusottama. (177 of 1923).
- Year 26. (c. A. D 1011) Sheep endowed for a lamp by a lady of Gövindaccëri were left in charge of the residents of Panmaiccëri. (190 of 1923).
- Year 29. (c. A. D. 1014) Sheep for lamp by a lady of Trivikkiramaccēri. (178 of 1923).

Inscriptions of Rājēndra I Parakēsari (with the Tirumanni valara introduction.)

- Year 5. (c. A. D. 1017) Land given by the Mahāsabhā for daily offerings and worship and certain festivals and for a flower garden to Śrīkṛṣṇa in the temple of Koṅgaraiyar, called Rājēndra-sōla-viṇṇagar. The land was left in charge of the Śrī Kṛṣṇagaṇapperumakkaļ. (174 of 1923).
- Year 6. (c. A. D. 1018) Apportionment by the *Perunguri Sabhā* of shares in the *arcanā-vṛtti* among the four *vaikhānasas* of Kongaraiyar-śrī-kōyil in lieu of those held by them at Araśānimangalam (171 of 1923).
- Year 19, day 343. (c. A. D. 1031) Reclamation of waste land by the *Peruiguri Sabhā*, and gift of the land as provision for offerings to the image of Anantanārāyaṇa on the third storey of the temple. Provision was also made, among others, for the recitation of *Tiruvāymoļi* hymns by three persons during the morning and evening services. (176 of 1923).
- Year 26, day 180. The Mahāsabhā sold land, and exempted it from the levies called śittāyam, pañcavāram, śiltiṇai, eccorrukkūrṇariśi, āṇṇukkāl amañji; also ērikkūḍi, pāḍakanellu, uļaviṇai, nīrvilai and other piḍāgaiyiṇai.

This land was intended to provide seven kuruni of paddy daily to three persons reciting the Tiruvāymoļi hymns in the temple of Vellaimūrti-Ālvār of the Rājēndra-śōla-viṇṇagar. The same assembly made a gift of two separate plots of tax-free land, one as vājasanēya-kkiḍaippuram and the other for a festival on the day of Punarvasu in the month of māśi.

(194 of 1923).

Year 30. (c. A. D. 1042) Sale of land made taxfree by the *Perunguri Sabhā* to the temple of Rājēndrasōļa-viņṇagaram for a flower-garden and a *maṭha* called after Kundavi Āļvār for feeding Śrīvaiṣṇavas.

(184 of 1923).

Inscriptions of Rājēndracōļadēva-Parakēsarivarman (with no characteristic introduction).

- Year 3. The *Perunguri Sabhā* endowed sheep for lamp to Vellaimūrti-Ālvār temple. The record refers to *Iraṇḍupakkattu-ppērilamaiyār* as trustees for the lamps in the temple. (185 of 1923).
- Year 3. The *Perunguri Sabhā* gave land for offerings to Rāghavadēva in the temple of Vellaimūrti-Āļvār and for a flower-garden, with the stipulation that the food offered at the two services should be given away to the Śrīvaiṣṇavas reciting the *Tiruppadiyam* hymns. (181 of 1923).
- Year 4. Land given tax-free by the Mahāsabhā, also called Perunguri Mahāsabhā, of Uttaramēlūr alias Rājēndra-sola-caturvēdimangalam as Bhavişya (paviliyak)-kiḍaippuram, so that some one might reside in the place permanently and impart instruction and enjoy the proceeds of 720 kuļi of land. (29 of 1898).

Year 4. Similar gift by the Mahāsabhā of 240 kuļi of land as Taittirīya (tayittiriyak) - kiḍaippuṇam.

(33 of 1898).

Year 4, day 84. The Mahāsabhā, also called Perunguri Mahāsabhā, made the hereditary appointment of a Śivabrāhmaṇa as arcaka in the local temple of Subramaṇyadēva. (53 of 1898).

Inscriptions of Kulōttunga I-Rājakēsari.

Year 9. (c. A. D. 1079) An endowment by a private individual of thirteen good current $k\bar{a}su$ (annalu-nankasu) left with two Bhattas of the temple who converted the money into $2\frac{1}{2}$ padagam * of land, agreed to pay the antarayam on the land and maintain a perpetual light in the temple, and gave an undertaking to the same effect on behalf of their successors also. (57 of 1898).

Year 46. (c. A. D. 1116) The Perunguri Sabhā ordered the remission of taxes on thirty padagam of land purchased by a person and granted by him along with a house-site (purchased from other resources) for the maintenance of a matha, called Arulaladasan, which he had founded. The land had been lying fallow for sixty or seventy years and was now called Solaviccadiravilagam after the donor. The tax on the land was remitted for the year (46) then current, but for the years following 5 kāśu per annum was to be levied as iraiyilikkāśu. Other taxes such as pidāgaivari, uppu-kāśu etc., were remitted altogether. The local Śrīvaisnavas were to supervise the charity under the general control of the Śrīvaisnavas of the eighteen (168 of 1923). nādus. †

^{*} A padagam was indefinite in extent. (Nos. 5 and 8 of 1898).

[†] The names of these are nowhere mentioned. See A.R.E. 1923 II. 33.

Inscriptions of Vikramacōla Parakēsari.

Year 11. (c. A. D. 1129) Gift of land by a private individual to the temple of Vellaimūrti-emberumān. The record mentions Śrīvaiṣṇava-vāriyar.

(188 of 1923).

Year 15. (c. A. D. 1133) The Mahāsabhā executed a sale-deed-in-discharge-of-debt (irana-krayāvana-kkaiveluttu) in favour of the Ekambam-udaiyar temple. The Sabhā had obtained a loan of the temple in year 13, and by the month of kārttigai in the fifteenth year, the debt including interest amounted to 2301 kaśu. This sum was demanded by the temple authorities including the Māhēśvaras and accountants, and as the Sabhā was unable to pay down the money, it met the claims of the temple by transferring to it some land which, with the capitalised value of the minor dues on it that were remitted, amounted to the sum of the debt due to the temple. The Sabhā was declared to be free, after the date of this transaction, from all dues to the temple other than 500 measures of ghee on the day of Tiruvādirai in the month of Mārgali and the transfer of Vennaikkūttanallūr (the land sold in lieu of the payment of the debt); and all other claims recorded on copper, stone and palm-leaf were declared cancelled. Vennaikküttanallür was thenceforth to be called by the Siva-name Tiruvēkambanallūr, and was to be so entered in the land-register (pottakam) of the village (68 of 1898). and tax-account (vari).

Inscriptions of Kulottunga III Parakesari.

Year 26, day 300. (c. A.D. 1214) At the request of one Bhārasivan Tiruvīraṭṭāṇam-uḍaiyān alias Kulōttunga-śōla Paṇḍitan, who had the birth-right (jaṇmakkāṇi) of worshipping at the mātṛsthānas of the village, a

certain Cēdirājan obtained the sanction of the king for a tax-free gift of ten vēli of land as arcanābhōga to the shrines of two Piḍāris, Vaḍavāyircelvi and Tiruvāṇḍāļ. The king also sanctioned this transaction being engraved on the walls of the temple of Veḷḷaimūrtināyaṇār, and ordered the Sabhā and the taṇḍuvān to enter it in the accounts as tax-free. We have duplicate records of this transaction, the king's sanction and the execution of the order by the Perunguri Sabhā.

(175 of 1923 * and 76 of 1898).

Year (3) 7. (c. A. D. 1215) The Mahāsabhā of Uttaramēlūr alias Rājēndra-sola-caturvēdimangalam entered into a fresh agreement with the Mahesvaras and the Sthānattār of the temple of Tiruppulivalam-udaiyanāvanār regarding the future administration of old endowments for eight perpetual lamps. endowments were: (as recorded in the Tiruppulivalamudaiyar and Naduvil temples)-four lamps for 100 kalanju of red gold taken charge of by the Assembly for the time being (engal purvapurusāhal, ll. 3-4) from Rājamārtānda alias Aparājitavikramavarman on the occasion of a solar eclipse in the fourteenth year of his reign; (as recorded in the Naduvil temple)-one lamp for 121/2 kalanju taken from a private individual in the 18th year of Kannaradeva who took Kacci and Taniai: two lamps to be maintained from proceeds of the sale of land given for the purpose by an individual in the thirteenth year of Parakësarivarman who took Madura; and one lamp for 121/2 kalanju taken from another person in the fourteenth year of the same king. In the 37th year of Tribhuvanavīradēva, when the Maheśvaras called upon the Subha to keep to its

^{*} By some mistake this record is treated as one of Rājarāja III in A.R.E. 1923, II 41. It is clearly one of Kulōttunga III. The tanduvān is not heard of in No. 76 of 1898 which records the execution of the order by the Sabhā.

engagements, it was unable to do so (ivvilakkuku nittattēvai-yirukka mudiyāmaiyil, ll. 11-12) and had to persuade the temple authorities to accept a less onerous schedule of obligations for the future. (67 of 1898).

Year 38, day 233. (c. A. D. 1216) In recognition of useful additions to the structure of the temple carried out by a courtesan, the *Mahāsabhā* conferred on her certain hereditary rights in the temple of Rājēndra-sola-viņnagar, with the concurrence of the trustees of the temple— $k\bar{\nu}$ ir tānattār kaṇḍu. (172 of 1923).

Inscriptions of Rājarāja III Rājakēsari.

Year 3. (c. A. D. 1219) Some further rights during the car-festival conferred upon the same courtesan by the *Mahāsabhā*. (180 of 1923).

Year 29. (c. A. D. 1245) The Mahāsabhā of Uttaramēru alias Gaṇḍagōpāla - caturvēdimaṅgalam conferred similar rights on a certain Śīyanācci alias Śrī-vaiṣṇava-māṇikkam in recognition of further improvements made by her in the temple.

(183 of 1923).

II The Parantaka Inscriptions

The remarkable progress of South Indian Epigraphy in the last thirty years has added much to our knowledge of the social and political affairs of South India in ancient and mediaeval times. With this increase in knowledge, old ideas on the constitution of village assemblies in South India are becoming obsolete, and we are called upon to review them in the light of later discoveries. To many questions concerning the rural life and administration of the country, we can yet offer only tentative answers; but we know more about these matters now than was known in 1904 when Venkayya edited the texts of the celebrated Uttaramerur records which he had first noticed in great detail a few years before. * It is the aim of this study to discuss some of the points which Venkayya left open, and suggest a few corrections and improvements in his interpretation of the records. This is done best by our furnishing annotations on the more difficult parts of the published texts of the two inscriptions of the twelfth and fourteenth years of Parantaka I distinguished by Venkayya as 'A' and B' respectively. †

- 'A' line 1: sabhaiyōm. Venkayya recognised the existence of village assemblies before the date of this record and drew attention to some earlier inscriptions
 - * A. R. E. 1899 paragraphs 58-73 and A. S. I. 1904-5 pp. 131 ff.
- † I verified Venkayya's text directly from the stone and found it perfect in its readings. I acknowledge with thanks the assistance rendered on the occasion by Mr. T. N. Ramachandran of the Madras Museum.

mentioning village assemblies. * Perhaps the earliest mention of the Sabhā of Uttaramērūr itself is that found in No. 80 of 1898 of the seventh year of Dantivikramavarman (c. A. D. 782) † Of about the same period is the Pāṇḍya record from Mānūr in the Tinnevelly District (No. 423 of 1906) which in some important respects seems to anticipate the records of Parāntaka Cōļa by more than a century. ‡

'A'. lines 1-3: ivvāndu-mudal . . . parišāvadu: Venkayya's translation of this passage can hardly be accepted as a satisfactory rendering of the original. It will be observed that the phrase 'irundu vāriyam-āga' in 1.2 is applied by him to the royal officer Tattanurmūvēnda-vēlān and rendered into: "Sitting (with us) and convening (?) the committee"; and his translation of the corresponding passage in 'B' runs: "Sitting (with us) and convening (?) the committee in accordance with the (royal) command." It should be observed that there is nothing in the text corresponding to " convening (?)" of the translation. The question is to decide whether 'vāriyam-āga' must be taken to refer to the royal officer, as Venkayya does, or to read it with what follows as: "vāriyam-āga āttorukkālum samvatsaravāriyamum....iduvadarkku." If we follow Venkayya, 'vāriyam-āga' must describe some function performed by the royal officer, and the text does not help us to explain what this function is, and the device of interpolating a new conception like convening a committee does not seem proper. The word vāriyam is generally taken to mean 'committee', and that is doubtless its real meaning in phrases like 'samvatsaravāriyam,' 'tōṭṭa-vāriyam' etc., in this and other records. It is doubtful if 'vāriyam' can be said in any other

^{*} A. S. I. 1904-5 p. 135.

⁺ Ante p. 118.

[‡] The Pandyan Kingdom p. 93.

context to be used to describe duties to be performed by an individual. The Manur inscription of Maran Śadaiyan contains the earliest use of 'vāriyam' known to me in the phrase: * "muluccirāvaņai illādārai evvakai - ppaṭṭa - vāriyamum ēraṇḍa - pperā - dārāgavum'' that is, 'that they shall not appoint to any variyam anybody who does not possess a full share'. 'Vāriyam' here may well mean a committee; but there is nothing in the context to preclude its being some office or privilege held by an individual. The Tamil dictionaries simply give the meaning 'income' for the word 'vāri'; but Kittel, in his Kanarese-English dictionary, gives under the word 'vāri' the meaning "unrelenting demand", and this suggests a possible meaning, "collection of dues or taxes," for the word 'vāriyam.' If this meaning is adopted, it will follow, further, that this collection may be the work of an individual or a group of men, a committee. ' vāriyam-āqa', that is 'becoming vāriyam,' as applied to a royal officer may mean that he was there in Uttaramērūr representing the king and collecting certain royal dues from the village. On this view, the phrase 'ivvandu mudal' meaning 'from this year' must be taken both in 'A' and 'B' to mark the year from which the officer named in either case was appointed as 'vāriyam'; but there seem to be no other instances of such a permanent deputation of an official of the king's service for the collection of royal dues from Brahmadeya villages. The only other supposition we can reasonably make is that the officer became a member of the variyam; but this raises a difficulty as there were many vāriyams in the village, and there seems to be no method of deciding to which of these the king's officer was assigned.

[•] The inscription is unpublished.

It seems simpler on the whole to adopt the alternative construction suggested above, and read 'vāriyamāga' with the following words. This would perhaps imply that the committee-system was being adopted by this resolution for the first time in Uttaramerur, or at least the committee-method (vāriyam) in local administration was improved and extended by this resolution. This view receives support from two considerations. First, in the records of an earlier period from Uttaramērūr there is no mention of 'vāriyam' as a committee * for a specific purpose. Secondly, from the inscriptions 'A' and 'B', the officials deputed by the king do not seem to have performed any special function other than representing the king to witness the proceedings of the assembly on the two important occasions when it adopted fundamental changes in its constitution. becomes clear from the phrases 'udan-irukka' in 1. 12 'A' and 'udan-irundu ippariśu śeyvikka' in l. 17 'B'; of these, the second form appears to state more explicitly what is implied in the first. These expressions will be discussed further below.

Again, the words 'engaļūr śrīmukhappaḍi āñaiyiṇāl' (ll. 1-2) are understood by Venkayya as governing 'vyavasthai śeyda' (ll. 2-3), so that according to him the revision of the constitution was undertaken by the assembly at the instance of the king. This interpretation overlooks the participle 'irundu' (l. 2) occurring immediately after the name Tattaṇūrmūvēnda-vēļān, and standing in much closer relation to 'ānaiyiṇāl' than to the words at the end of l. 2. There

^{*} There are found, however, the general terms $v\bar{a}riyar$ and $v\bar{a}riyap$ -perumakkal-see e.g. 63 of 1898 of year 16 of Nīpatunga and 74 of 1898, Dantipūttarasa. No. 11 of 1898 of the 10th year of Vijaya Kampavikramavarman mentions the tank committee; but his date is uncertain, and if the argument here presented is correct, he must be of a later time than is sometimes supposed.

seems to be no doubt that the royal sanction or order related only to the name of the officer who was appointed to be present on the occasion.

In the light of the remarks offered so far, this part of the text may perhaps be translated as follows: "We, (the members of) the assembly of Uttaramērucaturvēdimangalam, Tattanūr-mūvēnda-vēļān being present in accordance with the order (conveyed) in the *śrīmukha* (royal letter addressed) to our village, made the following settlement * for choosing as committees every year from this year forward the annual committee, the garden committee and the tank committee."

Much of this discussion applies also to record 'B' which employs almost the same expressions.

- 'A' l. 5: arthasausamum ātmasausamum uḍaiyarāy: "possesses honest earnings and has a pure mind" (Venkayya). The expressions employed here are clearly reminiscent of the upadhāsauca of the Arthasāstra literature, though in the context they seem to be used in a rather loose non-technical sense. Perhaps, 'possessing material and spiritual purity' is a better rendering. Reference may also be made to the Tiru-kkural verse 501.
- 'A' ll. 5-6: mūvāṭṭiṇ......aṇiya bandukkaļ allāttārai: substituting the literal translation † of the phrase 'mūvāṭṭin ippaṛam' viz., "on this side of three years," for 'the last three years' of Venkayya, we may accept his translation of this passage as correct. Indeed the text is easy Tamil and presents no difficulty.

[•] Venkayya observes (A. S. I. 1904-5 p. 138 n. 3): 'The wording of l. 12 seems to show that the settlement was made by the assembly, though the point is not quite clear here'. The foregoing discussion has shown that Venkayya's doubts were due to the rather forced construction he adopted.

⁺ See A. S. I. 1904-5 p. 138, n 6.

It is in the interpretation that we find it utterly impossible to follow Venkayya. There seems to be no evidence in the texts of the records that can sustain his somewhat lurid view of the occasion for the reform undertaken by the assembly of Uttaramerur. says: * "()ne point that is common in both (A & B) is the implied indignation against the committee members who had just then vacated office and who appear to have brought the administration of the village into disrepute. They must have embezzled communal funds and would not submit themselves to any sort of scrutiny. The wholesale condemnation in 'A' of committee members who held office at the time the rules were made, is sufficient evidence on the point. This clause must have operated harshly during the second year of its introduction and must have restricted the choice within a smaller number, who might not possess all the requisite qualifications. In view of this difficulty better counsel prevailed in A. D. 920-21, and the prohibition was restricted only to defaulting committee members and their relations."

In all the numerous and profound contributions of Venkayya to South Indian Epigraphy, it is hard to find another paragraph which beats this, or even approaches it, in its utter disregard for the sources. As we have seen already, the Sabhā of Uttaramērūr appears to have adopted the committee system (vāriyam) for the first time in the twelfth year of Parāntaka. The speculations of Venkayya concerning the reasons which led to the reform are based entirely on his translation of 'mūvāṭṭin ippaṇam' (l. 5) into "for the last three years." He also introduces a new word '(just)' in his translation of the phrase

^{*} Ibid pp. 135-6. See also A. R. E. 1899 paragraph 69.

'vāriyanjeydolinda - perumakkalukku.' The extent to which the meaning of our simple text is distorted as a result of these slight devices in translation can be seen by placing Venkayya's version by the side of a more literal rendering given as far as possible in his own words. Venkayya's version is: "From among (the residents) who have not been on (any of) the committees for the last three years and who are not close relations of the great men (just) retired from the committees" (italics ours). A more literal rendering would be: "From among those who have not done vāriyam on this side of three years and who are not close relations of the great men who have done vāriyam and retired." There is nothing here * either about the men who served on committees at the time the settlement was made or during the three years preceding the settlement. There is also no evidence of 'implied indignation' against or 'wholesale condemnation' of any body of persons. Venkayya's speculation about members of committees bringing the administration of the village into disrepute by their embezzlement of communal funds and their refusal to submit to any scrutiny is utterly groundless. The only reference to such transgressions in the two records of Uttaramerur occurs at the end of l. 4 of 'B' where it is laid down that failure to produce accounts for audit at the end of a period of office (vāriyam) shall permanently disqualify a person and his relatives for election to the variyam. This provision is part of a more detailed statement of disqualifications for election to the variyam that distinguishes the later record from that of two years before. In other words, what we have here is not the

[•] A prohibition at the end of 1. 9 and beginning of 1. 10 in 'A' is very obscure on account of gaps in the record. It has to be left on one side as it helps neither Venkayya's argument nor mine.

statement of a concrete fact, but provision against a possible contingency.

It is not contended that village administration was always pure, or that dishonesty and embezzlement were unknown to the rural patriots of ancient times; cases of spoliation of temple funds and breaches of trust are common enough in our records; and the provision in 'B' just noticed is in itself evidence that such offences had to be thought of and carefully guarded against. The substance of my difference with Venkayya is simply this. There seems to me to be no evidence whatever in these two records from Uttaramerur that the administration of this village was in a bad way in the years preceding the reform, or that such maladministration furnished the occasion for the reform itself. These records were unique when Venkayya studied them, and in his enthusiasm to explain their importance, he appears to have given rein to his imagination and read into the records much that was in his own mind. This may account for his view of the relation in which the two records stand to each other. He suggests that the rule of exclusion as stated in 'A' unduly restricted the field of choice for election to the committees and that the assembly, after the experience of two years, went back on its own rule and as a result, "the prohibition was restricted only to defaulting committee members and their relations." If by this, Venkayya means that there was no sort of restriction on members of committees who had served a term without being in default, this statement is not correct; for 'B' repeats * in identical words the rule from 'A' excluding from re-election to committees persons who had served on

[•] A. S. I. 1904-5 p. 143 (ii), and p. 139 l. 4 'B'.

them 'this side of three years.' We see then that both 'A' and 'B' are agreed in forbidding re-election to the committees within an interval of three years, and that this rule applies not only to 'defaulting committee members' but to all. We may reserve for later consideration the position of the kinsmen of committee members in 'B' with reference to that in 'A'.

In fact, if we put aside the ideas suggested by Venkayya's comments and his emendations of the text in his translation, and if we concentrate attention on the words employed in the text of which a more literal rendering than Venkayya's has been furnished above, we can recognise only two conditions stated in it; (1) persons nominated for election to the committees should not have served on them during the three years preceding the date of election, and (2) they should not be close relations of those that had so served. have shown that condition (1) is retained intact in the later record: condition (2) is indeed modified. shall discuss the modifications and the reasons therefor later in dealing with 'B'. But the main point is that in the language employed in 'A', there is no evidence of any dissatisfaction felt towards any persons for abusing their position and power, and not a trace that the rule of exclusion is based on the past conduct of malefactors. It is the dry and neutral language of a legal document laying down a rule of procedure for future observance. The reason underlying the main rule forbidding re-elections within three years is not hard to seek; it is to make offices go round. Venkayya himself once recognised this* when he pointed out that the annual change of office-bearers and re-election to new committees after intervals of three years must have

^{*} A. R. E. 1899, paragraph 72.

stimulated a sustained civic interest. The motive for the exclusion of the 'close relations' (aniya bandukkal) must have been similar; in a country where the joint family has been so important a social factor, one can understand a rule based on the feeling that a person may be taken to represent his family circle.

'A' line 6: śadēri (śēri) valiyē tiraţţi: "(The tickets bearing the names) shall be collected in (each) street (śēri)," (Venkayya). Perhaps this is better translated as: 'The tickets bearing the names shall be gathered together according to seris.' It must be noticed that there were thirty kudumbus, constituted out Each kudumbu had to prepare (1. 3) of twelve śēris. name tickets (kuḍavōlai) (l. 6) answering to what we now call valid nominations, and when this had been done, the tickets were grouped together according to śēris before lots were drawn in the manner laid down in 1. 7. Representation on the committees was according to sēri and kudumbu. These terms sēri and kudumbu occur in inscriptions from other places as well, and their exact place in local administration is vet to be worked out.

The brief record of the mode of election to the committees contained in this inscription is by no means easy to follow in its details. The later record (B) says distinctly that thirty names were chosen for service on committees, one from each kudumbu, and lays down the elaborate procedure to be followed at the election. The earlier record (A) also implies unmistakably that the total number of men chosen in one election was thirty. It makes the following statements: (1) the annual committee' must be so chosen that there are twelve members, one from each seri, after the tickets have been gathered together (from the kudumbus)

according to the śēris (ll. 6-7). (2) Before that * twelve men shall be chosen, as above (mēr padi), for the garden committee (ll. 7-8). (3) The remaining six tickets shall constitute the tank committee (Il. 8-9). (4) After the choice of thirty persons in this manner, they shall serve on the three committees for full three hundred and sixty days and then retire. There is nothing in the record to say how exactly it was to be secured that the two larger committees got one man from each śēri and from a different kudumbu, though this seems to be presumed throughout as the proper incidence of representation. On the other hand, it confuses the whole question by talking of tickets being collected according to śēris, of electing twelve, one from each śēri for one committee, and of twelve others elected similarly for another, and lastly, of the remaining six for yet a third. Again, while referring to future elections, it uses the phrase 'by allotting pot-tickets to kudumbu (kudumbukkukkuda-volai-iţţu) (1. 9). Moreover, for appointing twelve persons for the pañcavāra and 'gold' committees (l. 10), thirty tickets were to be allotted to the thirty kudumbus and twelve chosen therefrom, one for each śēri. This is doubtless a badly drafted record, and its wording must have given rise to differences of opinion as to the exact procedure to be adopted at the election. If we consider the distinct superiority of the later record in this respect and the clearness and precision of the procedure laid down in it, and contrast it with the vagueness and the clumsiness that characterise the earlier document, the conclusion seems to be forced on us that the main reason for the revision of the vyavasthai (settlement) that was undertaken by the Sabhā after an interval of two years, must be sought in

[•] Venkayya would change this and have 'subsequent to this', though the text is clear. See A. S. I. 1904-5 p. 138 and n. 12.

the intolerable vexation arising from the imperfections of the earlier settlement which they had bound themselves to observe in perpetuity (l. 11).

- 'A' line 9: ivvyavasthai-olai-ppadiye: 'According to this order of settlement '- (Venkayya). I prefer 'according to this deed of settlement.' The word 'ōlai', indeed often occurs in inscriptions in the sense of 'order', especially 'royal order' and this is perhaps the reason why Venkayya * and almost all other writers after him have maintained that the constitution of Uttaramerur was laid down in a royal rescript and that the Sabhā had only to signify its assent to a constitution ordered from above. But there is no justification for overlooking the express declaration of the Sabhā repeatedly made in these two records † that it made the vyavasthai in the presence of an official who attended its meetings by royal order. Though not of Parantaka's reign, there are not wanting examples of Sabhās stating clearly that they made certain changes in their constitutions at the instance of the king. These examples should warn us against disregarding express statements contained in our records. The proper meaning of 'olai' in this context is, therefore, not 'order' but 'deed' or 'record.' The word is used in many different connections; kudavolai is thus closely analogous to vyavasthai-ōlai.
- 'A' l. 10: pañcavāravāriyattukkum poņvāriyattukkum: 'Pañcavāra' seems to have been some kind of a tax ‡ or levy the exact nature of which is not clear, though the suggestion may be ventured that it might have been meant to provide against famine (pañjam).

^{• &}quot;The royal order had evidently to be approved by the village assembly before it could take effect." A. R. E. 1899, paragraph 60.

^{+ &#}x27;A' ll. 2-3; and 'B' ll. 2 and 17.

[‡] No. 131 of 1912 and A. R. E. 1913 II. 33; also S. I. I. II. p. 512 n. 3.

The duties of the pañcavāra committee were perhaps connected with its assessment and collection. The discovery of the real nature of 'pañcavāra' antiquates Venkayya's suggestion * that originally every village had only five committees, that it was the duty of the 'pañcavāra-vāriyam' to supervise their work, and that the name was kept on even after the number of committees to be supervised became more than five.

The gold committee (pon-vāriyam) is generally taken to have regulated the currency. As it is not possible, however, to imagine how village committees can undertake this general function of administration, we must try and find a more satisfactory explanation. 'Pon' in the inscriptions of South India often means a coin of specific weight; but the standard of fineness seems to have varied with different types, and there are clear references in the records of money endowments to the fineness and weight of the gold made over by the donors for specified purposes. There must have been some person or persons to take charge of such endowments or at least to testify in a public manner to the weight and fineness of the gold in such instances. It seems probable that the 'pon-variyam' performed these functions.

'A' l. 10: muppadu kudumbilum....panniruvārilum: Here the procedure for election to these two committees is even less specific in one important respect; we are distinctly told that only thirty tickets were to be put in for all the thirty kudumbus in the first instance (muppadu kudavālai iṭṭu) and that out of these thirty, twelve were selected for the two committees, one from each śēri. But how the first thirty were obtained we are

^{*} A. S. I. 1904-5 p. 145 n Pañcavāra has little to do with aimperungulu, contra Dr. S. K. Aiyangar in I. A, May 1932.

not informed. Another instance of the imperfect drafting of the record.

- 'A' l. 11: pinnai avvāriyattukku kuḍavōlai iḍa ppeṇādadāgavum: These words seem to imply that, under these rules, lots were drawn separately for each committee. If this was so, it did not matter whether the garden committee was elected before or after the annual committee.
- 'A' ll. 11-12: At first sight these lines seem to support Venkayya's translation which says that the royal letter issued by the emperor directed that from that year committees should be chosen for ever in the manner laid down. But this contradicts the claim of the Sabhā that it made the settlement. It will be seen also that Venkayya's translation understands 'srīmukham' as 'the royal letter' which laid down the constitution and 'anai' as 'the royal order' by which Tattanūr-mūvenda-vēļān sat with the assembly. If we recall the phrase 'srīmukhappadi ānaiyināl' (ll. 1-2) used earlier in this inscription, we shall notice easily the unsoundness of this separation of 'srīmukham' from 'āñai' in the translation of this passage. In fact the principal sentence in these lines is: enum kudavõlai vāriyamēy iduvadāga Tattaņūr-mūvenda-vēlān udaņirukka vyayasthai śeydōm Uttaramēru-caturvēdimangalattu sabhaiyom; and the numerous titles of the king followed by śrīmukham arulicceydu varakkātta śrī āñaiyināl are explanatory of udan-irukka; the clause nam grāmattu dustar kettu sistar vardhittiduvārāga gives the general motive of the settlement. The translation of these lines may be revised as follows: "In order that the wicked men of our village may perish and the good prosper, we, the members of the assembly of Uttaramerucaturvedimangalam made this settlement: that in this

manner, from this year forward as long as the sun and the moon endure, (we shall) invariably choose committees only by the method of pot-tickets—Tattaṇūr-mūvēnda-vēļān being present with us by order in accordance with the letter received and shown to us as graciously issued by the lord of the gods, the emperor, Śrī Vīranārāyaṇa Śrī Parāntakadēva alias Parakēsarivarman."

Dustar kettu sistar vardhittiduvārāga: In view of some statements made by Venkayya, it seems necessary to say that this expression has no very specific significance. It is the object of all government to restrain the wicked and promote the welfare of the good Venkayya understands by 'sista' 'the rest', and 'B' has 'visistar' in the same context in the place of 'sistar'. But the whole formula occurring in the record of the proceedings of a Brahman assembly has to be understood, it seems to me, in the light of the celebrated adage of the Gīta: "paritrāņāya sādhūnām vināśāya ca duṣkṛtām" (IV. 8.) In any case, I cannot help feeling that Venkayya has treated these words as a more concrete account of the affairs of the village than in reality they are. He says: * "We have reason to suppose that local administration was very near being wrecked in an important village not far from the premier city of the Cola dominions, (Kancipuram). The rules regulating the constitution of village assemblies (!) and the method of selection of committee members seem to have been lax, and unscrupulous and ignorant men appear to have taken advantage of the opportunity to embezzle communal funds, and would not render accounts. † The king deputed one of his

^{*} A. S. I. 1904-5, pp. 134-5.

[†] These statements appear to be based on a clause in 'B' disqualifying from service on committees persons who after serving on them once failed to submit accounts for audit.

Śūdra officers, with special instructions, in A. D. 918-9, to set matters right. Owing, perhaps, to his want of experience and to the excitement of the villagers over the evil doings of the 'wicked men' of the village, the rules which he promulgated (A below) must have made matters worse, and the consequences of his mistakes were felt during the second year the rules were in operation. The king had to depute a Brahmana officer of his from the Cola country to improve upon the system devised more than a year ago. Accordingly, on the sixteenth day of the fourteenth year of the king's reign (A. D. 920-21) a carefully worked out set of rules (B below) was framed and promulgated in order that the 'wicked men of the village might perish and the rest prosper.' The rules leave no doubt whatever as to who the wicked men were and wherein their wickedness lay." These statements of Venkayya give a measure of the extent to which he allowed the general formula about dusta nigraha and sista paripālana so well established in the parlance of Indian Sanskrit culture to influence his view of the settlement of the constitution of the committees by the Sabhā of Uttaramērūr. And one can hardly fail to observe that the identity of the 'wicked men' who caused all the trouble does not seem to be so clear from the records as it was to Venkayya, or that the difference in the caste of the officers deputed by the king on the two occasions might have been anything more than an accident. In any event, there is nothing in the words employed in the inscriptions that cannot be explained without supposing that the Śūdra officer bungled it and that the Brāhmana officer of the Cola country was more successful in dealing with the situation. The reforms consisted, in our view, in the introduction in Uttaramerur of a fully developed committee system of village administration

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for the first time in the twelfth year of Parāntaka by the $Sabh\bar{a}$ of that place, and in the clearer and more precise definition, two years later, of the rules governing the elections to the committees. The blame, if any, for the vagueness and uncertainty of the original rules, and the credit for the precision and clarity of the revised version must alike attach primarily to the assembly itself. The single official who was present by the king's order on either occasion, though he might have had a share in guiding the proceedings of the assembly by the respect he would have commanded as the king's representative, can hardly be held responsible for the settlement reached at the end or even for the form of expression adopted.

Before taking up 'B' for consideration, the results of the foregoing discussion may be summed up. There is nothing to support Venkayya's view that 'A' embodies a reform of the administration of Uttaramērūr undertaken and carried out by the Cola king Parantaka I to rescue it from the corruption and inefficiency caused by wicked men having gained control of it. For its plausibility this veiw depends on (a) a too literal understanding of the general phrase at the end of 'A': ' so that the wicked may perish and the good prosper', which gives the rationale of all government and regulation, and (b) a reading into the earlier record of notions derived from the later one about embezzlement of public funds and failure to submit accounts. If we put aside the false suggestions arising from these faulty steps-even 'B' speaks only of accounts not being submitted, not of embezzlement (end of l. 4)-we see clearly the nature of the rules governing service on committees, and realise that, far from being the result of indignation against particular persons who had ruined the village and the management of its affairs,

they are only dominated by a natural desire to afford equal opportunities of service to all eligible men.

What then were the nature and occasion of the reform and by whom was it effected? Its nature consisted evidently in the introduction of a well-developed committee system, apparently till then unknown in the management of the affairs of Uttaramerur. The earliest mention of the variyam is in an inscription from the Tinnevelly district, and though no final account of the history of this organisation can be attempted in the present state of research, it seems probable that the system was of gradual growth. Earlier and tentative attempts to divide the work of the village among individual members may have grown in course of time into an elaborate system of management through committees with a clearly marked division of labour among And the presence of the king's official at the meeting of the assembly shows that the king had something to do with the reform. But the words of the inscription leave no doubt that the essential points of the decision were reached by the assembly at its meeting; there is, however, no means of deciding whether this reform was undertaken on the initiative of the king or of the assembly itself. If, as seems not unlikely, the vāriyam system was sought to be developed further at Uttaramerur than was common at the time among the assemblies of other villages, the king would have had good reason to send out an officer to watch the nature of the changes introduced by the assembly of Uttaramērūr. And the novelty of the system more than anything else may go far to explain the imperfections of the first constitution.

This brings us to a consideration of the differences between 'A' and 'B.' The most important of these

aim at giving clearer expression to the qualifications of candidates for election to the committees and to the procedure to be followed in the elections. There are some other changes of a minor character. These will become clear in the course of the detailed comments that follow.

- 'B' ll. 1-2: See the notes on 'ivvāṇḍu mudal' and 'śrīmukhappaḍi āṇaiyiṇāl' under 'A' ll. 1-2. The expressions used are more detailed throughout, e. g., 'eṅgaṭukku śrīmukham varakkāṭṭa śrīmukhappaḍi āṇaiyiṇāl'. The name of the king is mentioned here unlike in 'A', and the name of the Brahman officer deputed by the king is given fully with the country, district, and town from which he came. There is however nothing to show that in official status or in the scope of his reference he differed from Tattaṇūrmūvenda-vēṭān of 'A'.
- 1. 3: elubadu pirāyattin kīl muppattaindu pirāyattin mēlpattār: The age limit here laid down is 35 to 70 as against 30 to 60 of 'A'. Venkayya suggested * that this change was due either to 'young men' having kept the company of 'wicked men' or to experience having shown rashness still persisting in administration of the committees. This will account for raising the lower age-limit from 30 to 35 but not for putting up the higher limit. It would seem that this variation in the age-limits prescribed for service on committees has no very special reason underlying it, unless it be a realisation that too many competent people in the village over sixty had been kept out by the earlier rule, and that the newer limits were more in accordance with the age-distribution of the population in the village. In other words, this may

^{*} A. R. E. 1899, paragraph 70.

be only a minor change which was effected incidentally because a revision of the rules had been necessitated by more imperious reasons.

- · B · l. 3: mantra-brāhmaṇam vallān öduvittari vānai: This expression takes the place of vēdattilum śāstrattilum kāryattilum nipuņar eņņappaţţiruppārai (l. 4) of 'A.' The statements in this record concerning the qualifications of persons eligible for service on committees, the classes of persons who shall be excluded from such service and the period of such exclusion are very clear and definite. The qualifications include conditions regarding age, property and learning, besides general ability and character. The phrase now under consideration makes the educational qualifications more definite than before. To say that a person must have a reputation for being learned in the Veda and the Śāstra, as 'A' said, was to give no clear indication of the standard of learning that entitled a man to have his name included among the pot-tickets. This question of the exact standard of learning implied in the original rule was, we may presume, much canvassed among the meticulous vaidiks of Uttaramērūr. As a result, the standard was carefully laid down. Ordinarily a candidate had to know the mantra-brāhmaņa * and possess experience in expounding it. It may be recalled here that, in a similar context, the Manur inscription requires candidates to possess a knowledge of mantra-brāhmaņa and one dharma.
- 'B' ll. 3-4: araikkānilamē.....puga iḍuvadāgavum: The assembly of Uttaramērūr apparently took account of the usual divorce between learning and riches, and
- * Monier-Williams gives this phrase the meaning 'Mantras and Brāhmaṇas' and also notes that it is the name of a work. Venkayya felt a slight difficulty with oduvitarivān, and suggested that it should be oduvikka arivān. But the former phrase means really "one who has known teaching", i. e. possesses experience of it.

fixed the property qualification of very learned men at half the usual standard. Thus a person versed in a Veda in its entirety and possessed of experience in teaching one of the four *bhāṣyas* might have only 1/8 nilam instead of the usual 1/4.

It will be observed that the short sentences in this inscription are much easier to follow than the long-winded sentence in 'A' (ll. 3-7) which mixes up in one unwieldy statement the qualifications and disqualifications of members and the details of the process of election.

- 'B' l. 4: mūvāṭṭin ippuṇam vāriyanjeydilāttārai: This phrase must be carefully noted as excluding from committees all persons who had served on them within the three years preceding the election simply by reason of such service. According to Venkayya this three year rule unduly limited the field of choice and was, as he mistakenly thought, dropped when, in A. D. 920-21 (the date of this record), "the prohibition was restricted only to defaulting committee members and their relatives." As a matter of fact, by the arrangement of clauses in this record, not to have served on any of the committees in the three years preceding the year to which the particular election related, was as much one of the qualifications requisite for valid candidature as the possession of property, learning and character.
- 'B' ll. 4-6: epperpatta..... puga ida pperāttārāgavum: This is the first of the series of clauses enumerating crimes and sins which resulted in a permanent or temporary exclusion of those who committed them from service on the committees. These clauses are for the most part new, as is also the phrase 'āśāramuḍaiyarāṇāraiyēy' among the qualifications in l. 4, of which phrase most of the new clauses constitute an explanation.

The first prohibitory clause deals with those who had served on committees and were in default, and The earlier record pronounced a their relatives. general prohibition directed against the relatives of all persons who had served on committees. This general prohibition was perhaps too wide, vague and unjust First, it did not define the relatives in its incidence. in any more specific manner than by employing the adjective 'close' (aniya). Secondly, it did not specify any period of time to which the prohibition applied. For these reasons, and possibly out of a sense of the injustice of excluding for an indefinite period the relatives of all men, good and bad alike, who had served on the committees, the assembly felt the need for making the exclusions and prohibitions more specific in character and duration. We find, accordingly that this first clause only excludes those who, having served on committees, failed to render accounts, and twelve classes of their relatives from service on committees; but it specifies no period, and we have therefore to assume that a permanent exclusion of these persons was contemplated. The same must be taken to apply to all similar cases that follow.

'B' l. 7: kaiyūtļu: Venkayya translates this into 'forbidden dish.' For this translation for which little or no support is derived from the dictionaries or from literary usage, he seems to depend on the reference to 'kṛta prāyaścittam' which follows. This he thinks is a mistake for 'ghṛta prāyaścitta' and cites * Manu XI 215 in support. But 'ghṛta prāyaścitta' is not a term known to Dharmaśāstra literature; the drinking of hot ghee for three days is part of a long prāyaścitta known as 'taptakṛcchra' (Manu XI 215) which Manu prescribes as

^{*} A. S. I. 1904-5, p. 143, n. 10.

penance for eating forbidden food (XI 157). The whole passage in the inscription is difficult, and 'kaiyūṭṭu' has been interpreted by the Tamil Lexicon as 'bribe,' which seems to be no more than a guess as no other text is cited in support of the meaning and as it makes the following reference to 'prāyaścitta' even more unintelligible.

- 'B' 1.7: 'avvavar prāṇāntikam': 'To the end of his life', (Venkayya). This phrase casts a doubt on the proper view to be taken of the period to which exclusions with no duration attached to them were meant to apply. The following is a resume of the clauses of prohibitions and the duration, if any, laid down by each:
- (1) members of committees who after their period of service did not submit accounts and their relatives (specified), no period;
- (2) those who committed incest and the first four mahāpātakas and their relatives as specified in (1),

no period;

(3) samsargapatitas (those who incurred sin by contact with sinners),

till they perform prāyaścittam;

- (4) sāhasiyar (nature not clear owing to a gap in the inscription), no period;
 - (5) those who stole others' property, no period;
- (6) those who became pure by some prāyaścitta for taking kaiyūṭṭu, to the end of their lives;
- (7) those who became pure by prāyaścitta for committing pātakam, for having turned grāmakanṭakas, or for having committed incest,

to the end of their lives.

It will be observed that those who committed incest, agamyāgamanam, are included both in (2) and (7), and that while (7) gives the term of exclusion as the whole life-time of the persons concerned, (2) gives no period. We may perhaps conclude that all the prohibitions except (3) were intended to be permanent.

- 'B' l. 9: āga iccuṭṭappaṭṭa.....iḍuvadāgavum: Here begin the rules of procedure for the election which, by contrast with the brief statement on this subject in 'A,' strike us as remarkably clear and full. The clause quoted here lays down clearly that the pot-tickets collected from each kuḍumbu were tied together in one bunch, and a descriptive label attached to it. The bunches of all the thirty kuḍumbus were then deposited in the pot in that form. Note the important points that the tickets were not, as laid down in 'A,' to be collected according to śēris, and that this change in procedure is very carefully marked in the language employed.
- 'B' ll. 9-11: kuḍavōlai paṇikkumbōdu.....ōrō-pēr koļvadāgavum: These lines embody the arrangements calculated to secure full publicity and the elimination of all chance of fraud in the conduct of the election. The whole Mahāsabhā met; the temple priests had a special part; they sat in an inner enclosure and conducted the election in the presence of the entire Mahāsabhā. The phrase mahāsabhaiyilē uļ maṇḍagattilēy iruttikkoṇḍu means not 'be caused to be seated in the inner hall, (where) the great assembly (meets)' (Venkayya), but "be caused to sit in the inner maṇḍapa of the assembly." From what follows, we see that this inner maṇḍapa must have been so situated that a person standing in it might be seen by the whole assembly. The phrase pagalēy antaram ariyādānoru pālaṇai-kkoṇḍu has been

translated by Venkayya into 'by any young boy standing close, who does not know what is inside.' It corresponds, however, quite clearly, to 'ēdum uruvariyādān oru bālanaikkondu' of 'A' (ll. 6-7), and surely means "by a young boy who cannot even by day distinguish (between one thing and another)." Note also the double use of the lot.

'B' ll. 11-12: ikkonda muppadu.....karai kātti-kkolvadāgavum: These clauses deal with the personnel of the committees to be constituted from the thirty representatives of the kudumbus elected by lot in the manner prescribed in the preceding clauses. (1) The annual committee was to include persons who had served on the garden and tank committees and those who were notable for their age or learning. No statement is made as to the number of members of this committee; but we may infer that it was twelve from the way the next two sentences mention 'twelve people out of the rest' and 'the remaining six' as constituting the (2) garden committee and (3) the tank committee respectively. By its name, and by the special stress on previous experience in the committees and on pre-eminence in age or learning among its members, the annual committee appears to have been considered the most important among the committees. What the exact nature of its work was and how it was more important than that of the other committees can be ascertained only by a more detailed study of the working of committees in Uttaramerur and elsewhere than can be undertaken here.

The provision that ex-members of the garden and tank committees should, if elected, be preferred for the annual committee calls for some consideration. Except in the case of the annual committee, the rules in

'A' forbade the re-election of the same person, even after the three year interval, to the same committee ('A'l. 11). This restriction does not appear in 'B'. How many of the thirty representatives of the kudumbus chosen in any year possessed experience of service on committees was purely a matter of accident. If our view, that the committee system was first adopted for the management of the affairs of the Sabhā when 'A' was drawn up, is accepted, the rule against the re-election of any person who had served on a committee within the three years preceding the election would have precluded any person with such experience getting on the panel of thirty in the first year or two after 'B' came into force. On the other hand, there was nothing to prevent more than twelve such persons being included in the panel in subsequent years. In either event, the preference shown to age and learning would guide the choice of the twelve for the annual committee.

The mode of choice for the garden and tank committees is described by the words 'karai kāṭṭi' (l. 12) which as Venkayya rightly says * must be taken to mean the same thing as "karāi parittu" of l. 15. Venkayya understood the expression to mean something like 'oral expression of opinion.'

'B' ll. 12-13: 'vāriyanjeyyāninnārai...olittuvadāgavum': This is a clear right of recall which the assembly reserves to itself. It is unknown to 'A'. We are not informed whether a vacancy that arose by such recall was filled before the next annual election and what civic disabilities attached to a person so recalled. It was doubtless a power meant to keep the men in office on the straight path and exercised by the assembly only on rare occasions. No instance of the exercise of this power is known.

^{* 23.} A. S. I. 1904-5 p. 144 n.3.

l. 13: pannirandu śēriyilum dharmakrtyangadai-kkānum vāriyarē: "The members of 'the committee for supervision of justice' in the twelve streets" (Venkayya). It may well be doubted, pace Venkayya, if this body of men, with whom the initiative rests to ask the madhyastha to convene the meeting of the assembly for the annual elections, was a committee of the assembly like the other committees. Literally translated, the phrase means: "the vāriyar who supervise dharmakṛtyam in the śēris (shall) by themselves." This looks different from a separate 'justice committee,' * on a par with the 'garden committee', 'annual committee' etc. Further, supervision of 'dharmakrtyam' may not be so much 'supervision of justice'—it is hard to see what this might mean—as 'administration of charitable trusts.' When the term of office of one set of committees came to a close and a new set had to be formed. the 'variyar' who were in charge of the administration of charitable trusts in the twelve 'sēris' were to act together and request the madhyastha to summon the assembly for the elections. It is difficult to say if the 'vāriyar' were members of the committees assembly with the constitution of which the whole record deals, or if they were ad hoc officials who supervised charities and were appointed by the assembly in some manner of which we have no knowledge. On the former supposition, they might have been all members of the 'annual committee' which might have been responsible for the maintenance of charities. † But it is hard to see why, if this was so, the inscription does not make it clear. It is also possible that supervision of charitable works might have been divided among

[•] Contra. A. R. E. 1889 paragraph 71 where Venkayya admits that no rules are laid down for its choice and suggests that they were part of the annual supervision committee.

⁺ No. 8 of 1898.

some of the thirty committee-men of a year irrespective of their membership in particular committees. However that may be, we have no evidence of a separate 'justice committee' here.

B' ll. 13-15: pañcavāra vāriyattukkum.....karai parittu kkolvadāgavum: For the choice of the pañcavāra and gold committees the process of election is the same as before up to the choice of thirty representatives, one from each kudumbu; and this is briefly but clearly indicated by the words used in the context. Then, there is a notable difference between 'A' and 'B' with regard to representation on these two committees. 'A' prescribed their election by seris, so that every year each śēri had a representative on one or the other of these two committees. 'B' evinces an equal anxiety that the membership of these committees should go round; but representation on these committees is by 'kudumbus' (not śēris). And the twelve kudumbus which sent representatives in any one year were excluded from the next year's election to these committees. The result was that after the first year's election under the new rules, twelve kudumbus out of thirty were retired from the field of selection by an automatic rotation, and thus there would be, in any year, only eighteen eligible kudumbus from which twelve were chosen for representation on these two committees. In fact it becomes clear at this point that the most fundamental difference between 'A' and 'B' is to be sought in the manner in which 'B' seeks to avoid, at every step, the confusion that resulted from linking the śēri with the kudumbu, in the rules laid down by 'A', for purposes of representation on the committees. As a result we are able to follow quite clearly all the stages in the representative system laid down in 'B'. The superiority of its technique over that of 'A' is unmistakable.

But why exactly, both in 'A' and 'B', two elections of a like nature are contemplated, one for the election of the annual, garden and tank committees, and the second for the pañcavāra and gold committees, does not seem to be easy of explanation. It looks as if this feature in 'B' was the relic of the attempt made in 'A' to secure the equal representation of the twelve śēris thrice over—once on the annual committee, a second time on the garden committee, and lastly, on the pañcavāra and gold committees together. would appear that 'A' contemplated not two but three separate elections, though this, like so much else in 'A,' is far from clear. But the system broke down on account of its clumsiness, and the attempt to treat the śēri as a political unit of equal importance with the kudumbu had to be given up. The result is seen in the system of 'B' which linked the kudumbu directly with the committees. The number of members of the committees fixed by the original system was, however, retained; this necessitated the election in all of 42 persons for five committees (12, plus 12, plus 6, plus 6. plus 6), and there were only thirty kudumbus. Given the conditions of the problem, thirty kudumbus to form the constituencies, forty-two members to be chosen, and equality of representation to be attained, it seems hardly possible to improve upon the device of the double-election combined with the automatic retirement, by rotation, of some kudumbus every year from the second election.

'B' l. 15: kaṇakku-pperunguri-pperumakkal: This seems to be a reference to an aspect of the administration of Uttaramērūr of which we do not hear anything else in the two records before us. Venkayya translates the sentence containing this phrase as follows: "No accountant shall be appointed to that office again

before he submits his accounts (for the period during which he was in office) to the great men of the big committee and (is declared) to have been honest." His note that kaṇakku is unnecessarily repeated after kūḍa in l. 15 shows that he made this translation by taking the kaṇakku in the phrase extracted above as the object of 'kāṭṭi', and not as an integral part of the compound word in which it occurs. He also thought evidently that the peruṅguṇi-pperumakka! (the great men of the big committee) were the authority to whom the accounts had to be submitted for audit. All this seems unsatisfactory if we examine the text closely.

The form 'kaṇakku-pperunguri-pperumakkal' and the presence of the second 'kaṇakku' which Venkayya brushed aside as superfluous, together with the words 'ōḍu kūḍa' after 'perumakkal' decidedly point to another way of translating the sentence.

The 'kanakku-pperunguri-pperumakkal' appear to have been an accounts-committee assisted by an accountant, and both of them were together responsible for the proper maintenance of the general accounts of the village. It was the duty of the accountant to be present with the accounts-committee at the time of audit and to explain everything to the satisfaction of the auditors, and this clause lays it down that until he had discharged this duty, he was not eligible for fresh appointment either to the same place or to any other accountant's place. This explanation implies that the sentence does not say who were to conduct the audit. I am inclined to accept this implication as correct, and to suggest that the audit was conducted by royal officers specially deputed for the purpose by the central There are several instances of the government. accounts of temples being audited by the officers of the

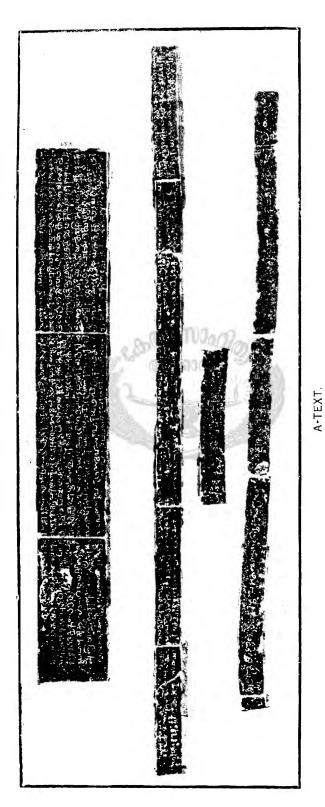
central government. The only other course is to make the 'kanakku - pperunguri - pperumakka!' themselves the auditors; but this seems to be somewhat difficult in the face of the emphatic ' $\bar{v}du k\bar{u}da$.' We may therefore translate the sentence as follows: "No one who wrote accounts shall be allowed to enter on (writing) other accounts except after he clears himself by submitting accounts (for the period of his office) together with the members of the accounts-committee." I am inclined to treat perumakkal and perunguri tentatively as technical terms simply meaning 'members' and 'assembly'. The term perumakkal often enough occurs in connection with committees. But! perunguri seems generally to apply to the whole assembly. It is possible therefore that the kanakku-pperunguri-pperumakkal were persons directly chosen by the assembly $(Sahb\bar{a})$ for the purpose of submitting the accounts for audit by officers of the central government on behalf of the entire administration of the village, or for themselves auditing the accounts. On this view, the translation of the phrase would be "the members of the assembly (chosen) for (submitting or auditing) accounts."

B. l. 17: uḍan irundu ippariśu śeyvikka: Venkayya translates 'sat with (us) and thus caused (this settlement) to be made', and I accept this translation as correct. There is nothing else in l. 17 bearing on the part played by the royal official. I am unable to follow Venkayya's statements: "The wording in l. 17 makes it likely that the settlement was actually made by Śōmāśiperumāṇ and the village assembly very probably agreed to carry it out"; and more emphatically still, "the later settlement appears to have been actually drawn up by the king's officer and formally accepted by the assembly." * I have already stated that the

^{*} A. S. I. 1904-5 p. 142 n. 7; p. 145 n. 6.

phrase 'uḍan irundu śeyvikka means practically the same thing as 'uḍan irukka' of 'A' in the same context.

We read the meaning of the Uttaramerur inscriptions somewhat differently from Venkayya who was the first to interpret these difficult epigraphs, and from others who, sometimes with less excuse, have unquestioningly reproduced his statements. We do not think that there is any evidence in these records to show that village government in Uttaramerur was going to rack and ruin before the reforms of the twelfth and fourteenth years of Parantaka. We are unable to agree that the king's government had on such occasions more than a general right to remonstrate with the assembly through an officer specially deputed for the purpose. We are inclined to ascribe both the demerits of the first settlement and the merits of the second rather to the assembly than to the king's government. seek the cause of the breakdown of the first settlement, not in the caste of the king's officers, but in the intrinsic defects of the system of representation devised on the first occasion. These defects were remedied by two improvements which, above all, distinguish 'B' from 'A'. The attempt to secure representation for the sēris as such is given up, and the kudumbu is directly linked to the variyam. Secondly, the lot is employed twice in each election, to decide the order in which the kudumbus are taken up for the choice of representatives as well as to choose the member for the year from among the eligible candidates of each kudumbu. These improvements simplified the whole procedure by removing the confusing uncertainties of the earlier rules. Such are some of the main differences. Of the details, the translations of the records that follow will give a better idea than any summary of the results of this long discussion.



APPENDIX II.

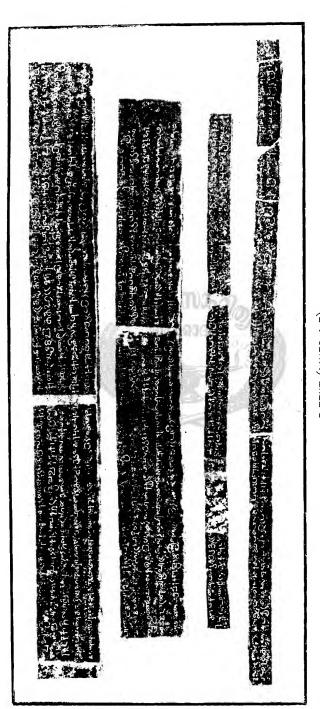
A-T E X T.

- 1 Svasti śrī (\parallel) (Madi)r(ai) koṇ(ḍa kō = Ppa)-rakēsarivarmarkku yāṇḍu paṇiraḍu āvadu (\parallel) Uttiramēruccatu(r)vē(d)imaṅgalattu sabh(ai)yō(m) ivvāṇḍu mudal e(ṅ)gaļ = ūr śrīmukappaḍi āñai-
- 2 yi(n)āl Tattanū(r M)ūvē(nda)vēļān irundu v(ā)riyam = (ā)ga āṭṭ = orukkālum sam(va)tsara-v(ā)riyamun-dōṭṭa-vāriyamum (ēri)-vā(riya)mum iḍuvadarku vyavas(thai) śey-
- 3 da pariś = āvadu (||) kuḍumbu mup(pad = āy) muppadu kuḍumbilum avvava-kuḍu(m*)bilā(rē)y kūḍi kā = ṇi(la)ttukku mēl irai-nilam uḍaiyāṇ taṇ maṇaiyilē a-
- 4 gam eduttukondu irup(pāṇaiy) ar(u)ba(dupi)rā(ya*)ttukku uļ muppadu pirāyattukku mēlpaṭṭār vēdattilum śāstrattilum kā(r)yyattilum nipuṇar = eṇṇappaṭṭ = i-
- 5 ruppārai a(r*)ttha-sausamum $\overline{a}t(ma)$ -s(au)samum udaiyar = $\overline{a}y$ m $\overline{u}v$ -(\overline{a})ttin i-ppuram v $\overline{a}riya$ n = jey-(di)l(\overline{a})tt(\overline{a})r (v) $\overline{a}riya$ n = jeyd = olinda (p)erumak-kaļukku-
- 6 aṇiya bandukkal allāttār(ai) = kkuḍav-ōlaikku = ppēr tīṭṭi = ccēri-valiyēy tiraṭ(ṭi) pa(ṇ)ṇiraṇḍu śēriyilum śēriyāl oru-pē(r-ām-āru) ēdum = uru(v = a)riyāttāṇ = oru-
- 7 bāla(nai) = kkondu kudav-olai (v)ānguvi(t)tu = ppanniruvārum sam(vatsa)ra-vāriyam = āvid-āgavum (||) a(di)n minbēy totta-vāriyattukku mērpadi ku(da)v-(o)-
- 8 lai vāngi = ppaṇṇiruvarum tōṭṭa-vāriyam = (ā)-vad = \bar{a} (ga)vum (||) niṇra (a)ru-(kuḍa)v-ōlaiy(u)m ēri-vāriya(m = \bar{a} *)-

- 9 vad = \overline{a} gavu = mup(pa)du kuḍav = (\overline{o})lai pa-(ri)ccu v(\overline{a})riyam śeygin(ra*) muṇru (t)irattu v(\overline{a})riyamum muṇṇurr-a(rubadu) n(\overline{a} lu)m (ni)ram(ba*) (v) \overline{a} riyam olin(da) aṇan(ta)ra(m) iḍu(m v \overline{a})r(i)yaṅgal (i - vya)vasthai(y - \overline{o})(lai*)ppaḍiyēy kuḍumbukku = kkuḍav- \overline{o} lai iṭṭu = kkuḍav - \overline{o} lai pa(ric)cuk(ko)ṇḍ(\overline{e})y v \overline{a} (ri)yam (i)ḍuvad = \overline{a} gavum ($\|$) v \overline{a} riya \overline{n} = jeyd \overline{a} r(k*)ku bandhukkalum ś(\overline{e})rigalil a(ny \overline{o} nya)mm(\overline{e}) * *
- 10 m kuḍav-ōlaiyi(l) pēr eļudi i(ḍa)ppaḍādār = (ā)gavum (||) pañjavāra-vāri(ya)ttukkum poṇ-vāri-yattukkum muppadu kuḍu(m)b(i)lum mup(padu) kuḍa(v-ō)lai iṭṭu śēriyāl o(ru)ttarai = kkuḍav-ōlai paṇi(t)tu paṇṇiruvārilum (a)nuvar (pa)ñja(vāra*)-vāriyam = āvad-āgavum (||) anuvar p(oṇ)-vāriyam = āvad-āgavum (||) samvatsara-vāri(ya)m allātta
- 11 vāriya(n)gaļ (o)rukkāl seydā(rai pi)nnai a-(v)-vāriyattukku kuḍav-ō(lai) iḍa = pperādad-āgavum (||) (i)-pparisēy = ivv-āṇḍu mudal ca(ndr)ā(ditta)vat e(n)rum (ku)ḍav-ōlai (vāri)yamēy iḍuvad = āga Dēvēndraṇ ca(kra)varti (śrī) Vīranārāyaṇaṇ śri-Parāntakadēvar = āgi(ya) Parakēsariva(r)mar śrīmugam a(ru)licceydu va(rakk)ātṭa-
- 12 śrī-āñaiyiṇāl Tattanūr $M\bar{u}(v\bar{e})nda(v\bar{e})|\bar{a}n = udaṇ = irukka nam grāmatt(u du)ṣṭar keṭṭu śiṣṭar varddhi(tti)ḍuvār = āga (vyava)sthai śey(dō)m (Ut)-taramē(ru*)-ca(turv)ēdimaṅgalat(tu) sabh(ai)yōm (<math>\parallel$)

B—TEXT

1 Svasti śrī (∥) Madirai-koṇḍa kō Parakēsarivanma(r)kku yāṇḍu padiṇālāvadu nāļ padiṇ-āru (∥) Kāliyūr - kōṭṭattu taṇ - kūrru Uttaramēru - catu(r)vēdimaṅgalattu sabhaiyōm ivv-āṇḍu mudal (e)ṅgaḷukku



B-TEXT (LINES 1-7).

Peru(m)āṇ-aḍigaļ Emberumāṇ śrī-Vīranārāyaṇan śrī-Parāntakadēvan (śrī) - Parakēsarivanmaruḍaiya śrīmukham varakkāṭṭa śrīmukhappaḍi ā-

- 2 jñaiyiṇāl Śōla-nāṭṭu = Ppuṇaṅgarambai-nāṭṭu Śrīvaṅganagar = Kkarañjai-Koṇḍayakramavitta-bhaṭṭan = āgiya Śōmāśiperumān irundu vāriyam = āga āṭ(ṭ = o)-rukk(ā)lum samvatsara-vāriyamu(m) toṭṭa-vāriyamum ēri-vāriyamum iḍuvadaṛkku vyavasthai śēda pariś = ā-(va)du(||) kuḍumbu muppadā = muppadu kuḍumbilum avvava kuḍumbilā-
- 3 rē kūḍi = kkā = nilattukku mēl irai-nilam = uḍaiyāṇ taṇ maṇaiyilē agamm = eḍuttu-kkoṇḍ = iruppāṇai elubadu pirāyattiṇ kīl muppattaindu pirāyattiṇ mērpaṭṭār mantrabrāhmaṇam vallān ōduviyttariyvāṇai = kkuḍav-ōlai iḍuvad = āgavum(||) arai-kkā = nilamē uḍaiyan = āyilu(m) oru-vēdam vallan = āy nālu bhāṣyattilum oru-bhā-
- 4 syam vakkāņitt-ariyvān avanaiyun = guḍav-ōlai eludi = ppuga iḍuvad = āgavum (||) avargaļilum kā(r)-yyattil nipuņar = āy āśāram = uḍiyarāṇāraiyēy koļvad = āgavum (||) a(r)ttha-śauśamu(m) ānma-śaucamum uḍaiyar = āy mūv-āṭṭin = i-ppuram vāriya(n) = jeydilāttārai koļvad = āgavum (||) eppērppaṭṭa vāriyangaļum śe(y)du kaṇakku-kkāṭṭādē irundāraiyum ivargaļukku = ccirr-avai = ppēr-avai ma-
- 5 kkaļaiyum ivargaļukku attai māmaņ makkaļaiyum iva(r)gaļukku = ttāyōdu udappirandāņaiyum ivargaļ tama(p)paṇōd = udappirandāņaiyu(m) taṇṇōdudappirandāṇaiyum ivargaļukku = ppiļļai kudutta māmaṇaiyum ivargaļ brāhmaṇiyōd = udappirandāṇaiyum taṇṇōd = udappirandāļai vēṭṭāṇaiyu(m) udappiran(dā)ļ makkaļaiyum taṇ magaļai vēṭṭa marugaṇaiyum taṇ tamappaṇaiyum

- 6 tan maganaiyum āga i = ccuṭṭa * * * * * bandhukkalaiyum kuḍav-ōlai eludi = ppu(ga) iḍa p(pe)-rāttār = āgavum (||) agamyāgamanattilum mahāpādagangal(il) muṇb = aḍain(da) nālu mahāpādagattilumm = eluttuppaṭṭāraiyum ivar(galu)kkum mun śuṭṭappaṭṭa ittiṇai bandhukkalaiyum kuḍav-ōlai elud(i) = ppuga (i)ḍa = pperādā(r = ā)gavum (||) sa(msar)gga-(pa)ti-(ta)rai prāyaścittañ = jeyyum-ala(vu)m
- 7 kuḍav-ōlai iḍādad = āgavum * * * * * * diyum sāhasiyar = āy = iruppāraiyum kuḍa(v-ō)lai eludi = ppugav = iḍa = pperadār = āgavum (||) paradravyam apaharittāṇaiyum kuḍav-ōlai eludi = ppugav = iḍa = pperadār = āgavum (||) e(ppē)rppaṭṭa kaiyyūṭṭu(ṅ) = goṇḍāṇ kṛ(ta)-prāyaścittañ = jeydu śuddhar = āṇāraiyu(m) avvavar prāṇān(t)ikam
- 8 vāriyattukku = kkuḍav-ōlaiy = eludi puga(v = iḍa = pperādad = āgavum) * * * pādagam seydu prāyaccit(ta)ñ = jeydu suddhar = (ā)ṇāraiyum grāma-kaṇ ḍagar = āy prāyasei(ttañ) = jēdu su(d)dhar = āṇāraiyu(m) agamyāgamaṇam (sē)du prāya(sei)ttañ-jeydu suddhar = āṇāraiyum āga i-ccuṭṭappaṭṭa aṇ(ai)yvaraiyum prāṇā-(nti)kam vār(i)yattukku = kkuḍav-ōlai elud(i) = ppugav = = iḍa = pperādad = āga-
- 9 vum (||) āga i-ccuṭṭappaṭṭa ittaṇaiyvaraiyum nīkki i-mmuppadu kuḍum(bilu)m kuḍav-ōlaikku = ppēr tīṭṭi i-ppaṇṇiraṇḍu śēriyilum = āga i-kkuḍumbum vevvērēy vāy-ōlai pūṭṭi muppadu kuḍumbum vevvēre kaṭṭi = kkuḍam puga (iḍu)vad = āgavum (||) kuḍav-ōlai parikkum(bō)du mahāsabhai = ttiruvaḍiyārai sabālavṛddham niram(ba) = kkūṭṭi-kkoṇḍu anr = uḷḷūril irunda nambimār oruvaraiyum oḷiyā-
- 10 mē mahāsabhaiyilē uļm-maṇḍagattilēy iruttikkoṇḍu a-nnambimār naḍuvēy a-kkuḍattai nam(b)i-

mā(ri)l vṛddhar = āy iruppār = oru-(na)mbi mēl nōkki (e)llā-jjaṇamuṅ = gāṇum-ārrāl = eḍuttu-kkoṇḍu nirkka pagalēy = antaram = ariyādāṇ = oru-pālaṇai = kkoṇḍu oru-kuḍumbu vāṅ(giy) marr = oru-kuḍattukkēy pugav = iṭṭu = kkulaittu a-kkuḍattil = ōr-ōlai vāṅgi maddhyasthaṇ kaiyilē

- 11 (ku)duppad = āgavum (||) a-kkudu(t)tav = (ō)lai madhyasthan vāṅgumbōdu añju viralum agala vaittu ullaṅgaiyilē ērru-kkolv(ā)n = āgavum (||) avvēru vā(ṅ)giṇav = ōlai v(ā)sippāṇ = āgavum (||) vāsitta avv-ōlai aṅg-ul-(ma)ṇḍagatt = irunda nambimār ellārum vāsippār = āgavum (||) vāsitta a-ppēr tīṭṭuvad = āgavum (||) i-pparišē muppadu kuḍumbilu(m) ōrōpēr k(o)lvad = āgavum (||) i-kkoṇḍa (mu)ppadu pērilum = tōṭṭa-vāriyamu(m) ēri-vāriyamum śeydāraiyum (vi)-jyā-vṛddha(rai)yum
- 12 vayō-(vṛ)ddhargaļaiyum samvatsara-vāriya-rāga koļvad = āgavum (||) mikku niṇṛāruṭ = paṇṇiru-varai = ttōṭṭa-vāriyan = goļva(d = ā)gavum (||) niṇṛa aṛuvaraiyum ēri-vāriyam = āga = kkoļvad = āgavum (||) ivv-iraṇḍu (t)iṛattu vāriyamu(m) karai kāṭṭi koļvad = (ā)gavu(m) (||) i-vāriyam śeygi(ṇ)ṛa mūṇṛu (t)iṛattu vāriya = pperumakkaļum muṇṇū(ṛṛu-a) ṛu(ba)du n(ā)-lum nira(m)ba = cceydu oḷivad = (ā)gavum (||) vāri-yañ = jeyyāniṇṛārai aparādan-
- 13 gaṇḍapōdu avaṇaiy = ol(i)ttuvad = āgavum(||) ivargal oli(nda) aṇantaram = iḍum vāriyaṅgalum pa(ṇṇiraṇ)ḍu śēriyilum dhanmakṛtyaṅ = gaḍaik-kāṇum vāriyarē madhyastharai = kkoṇḍu kuṛ(i) kūṭṭ(i) = kkuḍuppār = āga(vu)m (||) i-vyavasthaiy = ōlaip-paḍiyēy * * * (k)ku = kkuḍav-ōlaiy paṛittu-k(k)o(ṇḍē vāri)-yam iḍuvad = āgavum (||) pañcavāra-v(āriya)t-(tuk)kum poṇ-vā(ri)yattu-

- 14 kku = muppadu = kkuḍumbilum kuḍav-ōlaikku pēr tīṭṭi muppadu vā(y-ō)lai-kaṭṭum puga (iṭ)ṭu mup(pa)-du kuḍav-ōl(ai) parittu muppadilum (paṇṇi)raṇḍu pēr (pa)rittu-kkoļvad = (ā)gavum (||) paritta paṇṇiraṇḍilum a(ru)var p(o)ṇ-vāriyam aruvar pañjavāra-vāriyamum āvanav = ā(gavum) (||) pirrai āṇḍum i-vāriya(i)gaļ kuḍav-ōlai parikkumbōdu i-vvāriyaṅgaļukku muṇnam śe-
- 15 yda kuḍumb = aṇṇikkē niṇṇa kuḍumbilē karai paṇittu-kk(o)!(va)d = āgavum (||) kaludai ēṇiṇāraiyum kuḍalēgai śeydāṇaiyum kuḍav-olai (e)ludi = ppuga iḍa = ppeṇādad = āgavu(m) (||) madhyastharum arttha-śauśam = uḍaiyāṇē kaṇakk = eluduvāṇ = āgavum kaṇak-(k) = eludiṇāṇ kaṇakku = pperuṅguṇi = pperu-makkalōḍu kūḍa = kkaṇa(k)ku-(k)kāṭṭi śuddhan āccidiṇ-piṇṇ = aṇṇi maṇu = kkaṇa-
- 16 kku = ppuga perādāņ = āgavum (||) tāṇ eļudiņa ka(ṇakku) = ttāṇē kāṭṭuvāṇ = āgavum (||) marru = kkaṇak(ka)r pukku o(ḍu)kka = pperādā(r) āgavum (||) i-ppariśē ivv-āṇḍu mudal candrādityavat eṇ(r)um kuḍav-ōlai-vāriyamē iḍuvad = āga Dēv(ē)ndraṇ cakrava r)tti (pa)ṇḍitavatsalan kuñjaramallaṇ śūraśūļāmaṇi kalpakacaritai śrī-Parakē(sa)ri(pa)nma-(r kaļ) śrīmu(kha)m = aruļiccēdu varak(k)āṭṭa śrī-ā(ħ)-aiyā-
- 17 l Śōla-nāṭṭu = Ppuṇaṅgarambai-nāṭṭu Śrīvaṅga-nagar = Kkarañjai-K(o)ṇḍaya-(kra)mavitta-bhaṭṭaṇ = āgiya Śōmāśiperumāṇ = uḍaṇ (i)rundu i-ppariśu śeyvikka na(m) grāmattukku a(bhyu)dayam = āga duṣṭar keṭṭu viśiṣṭar va(r)ddhippad = āga vyavasth(ai) śeydōm Uttaramēru caturvēdimaṅgalattu sabhaiyōm (||) i-ppariśu kuṇyuḷ irundu p(e)rumakkaḷ paṇikka vyavasthai eḷudiṇē(ṇ) madhyasthan

18 Kādadippōt(ta)ņ Śivakkuri Irājamalla-mangalapriyanēņ (||)

A.—TRANSLATION

- ll. 1-3. Hail! Prosperity! In the twelfth year of King Parakēsari-varman, who captured Madura—We, (the members of) the Sabhā of Uttaramēru-caturvēdimangalam, Tattanūr-mūvēnda-vēļān being present in accordance with the order (conveyed) in the śrīmukham (royal letter addresed) to our village, made the following settlement for choosing as committees every year from this year onwards, (the following viz.) the annual committee, garden committee and tank committee.
- ll. 3-6. There being thirty kudumbus (wards), in (each of these) thirty wards, the people of the ward concerned shall assemble, and shall write down for pot-tickets (kudav-ōlai) the names of those who (a) own more than one-fourth nilam of taxable land, (b) reside in houses built on their own sites, (c) are below sixty and above thirty years of age, (d) have a reputation for proficiency in Vēda, Śāstra and (general) affairs, (e) possess material and spiritual purity, (f) have not done vāriyam this side of three years and (g) are not close relations of the perumakkal (members) who have done vāriyam and retired.
- ll. 6-7. Then (they shall) collect (the tickets) by the \tilde{seri} , and shall constitute the annual committee of twelve persons by causing a boy who cannot distinguish any forms to draw pot-tickets in such manner that there shall be one person for each \tilde{seri} .
- 11. 7-8. Before that, pot-tickets shall be drawn similarly for the garden committee, and the twelve persons (thus chosen) shall form the garden committee.

- 11. 8-9. The remaining six pot-tickets shall form the tank committee.
- l. 9. The three sorts of committees that do vāriyam, (after being appointed) by the drawing of thirty pot-tickets, shall complete vāriyam for full three hundred and sixty days (and retire). The committees that will be appointed thereafter shall be constituted as committees only by the drawing of pot-tickets after allotting pot-tickets to the kuḍumbus in accordance with this deed of settlement.
- ll. 9-10. And the relatives of those who have done vāriyam, * * * shall not have their names entered on pot-tickets and deposited (in the pot).
- l. 10. For the pañcavāra committee and the gold committee thirty pot-tickets shall be allotted to the thirty kudumbus, and pot-tickets shall be drawn (so as to get) one person for each sēri; of the twelve (thus chosen), six shall be the pañcavāra committee and six the gold committee.
- ll. 10-11. Those who have once served on (any of) the committees other than the annual committee shall not have pot-tickets (with their names) deposited (in the pot) for the same committee.
- Il. 11-12. We, the members of the Sabhā of Uttaramēru-caturvēdimangalam, having been shown the gracious royal letter received from the lord of the gods, the emperor śrī Vīranārāyaṇa śrī Parāntakadēva alias Parakēsarivarma, Tattaṇūr-mūvēnda-vēļān sitting with us in accordance with this order, made this settlement, in order that the wicked of our village may perish and the good prosper, viz., that, in this manner, from this year as long as the sun and the moon endure, we shall always appoint only pot-ticket-committees.

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B—TRANSLATION

- ll. 1-2: Hail! Prosperity! On the sixteenth day of the fourteenth year of king Parakēsarivarman who captured Madura—We, the members of the Sabhā of Uttaramēru-caturvēdimangalam in its own subdivision (kūru) of Kāliyūrkōṭṭam,—a gracious letter of His Majesty, our Lord śrī Vīranārāyaṇa śrī Parāntakadēva śrī Parakēsarivarma having been received and shown to us, and in accordance with (that) letter, Karañjai Koṇḍaya Kramavitta-bhaṭṭan alias Śōmāśiperumān of śrī Vanganagar in Purangarambaināḍu of the Śōlanāḍu, sitting (with us) by order,—(we) made the following settlement with a view to appointing as vāriyam (committees), every year from this year onwards, (the following) (viz.), the annual committee, garden committee and tank committee.
- ll. 2-3: There being thirty kudumbus (wards), in (each of these) thirty wards, the people of the ward concerned shall assemble, and shall write on pot-tickets (the names of) those who own more than one-fourth nilam of taxable land, reside in houses built on their own sites, are below seventy and above thirty-five years of age, know the Mantrabrāhmaņa and possess experience of teaching it.
- ll. 3-4: Though owning only an eighth of a nilam, if a person is competent in one Vēda and possesses experience of expounding one of the four $bh\bar{a}syas$, he shall also have his name written on the pot-ticket and put (into the pot).
- l. 4: Even among these, only persons who are proficient in (general) affairs and conform to proper conduct (āśāram) shall be taken. Those who have material and spiritual purity, and have not done vāriyam this side of three years shall be chosen.

- 11. 4-6: Anyone who has done any vāriyam (before) and failed to show accounts, and his relatives as specified herein shall not have their names written on pot-tickets and put (into the pot)—(viz.,) the sons of the younger and elder sisters of his mother; the sons of his paternal aunt and maternal uncle; the brother * of his mother; the brother of his father; his own brother; his father-in-law; the brother of his wife; the husband of his sister; the sons of his sister; the son-in-law who has married his daughter; his father and his son.
- 1. 6: Those against whom incest or the first four of the five great sins are recorded and all their relations as specified hereinbefore shall not also have their names written on pot-tickets and put (into the pot).
- 11. 6-7: Those who have fallen by association (with sinners) shall not have their names written on pot-tickets till after they perform expiation.
- 1. 7: * * Those are who are violent shall also not have their names written on pot-tickets and put (into the pot). Those who have stolen others' property shall not also have their names written on pot-tickets and put (into the pot).
- 11. 7-8: Those who, after partaking of any forbidden dish, have become pure by performing the ghee expiation (?), shall not also, to the end of their lives, have their names written on pot-tickets for the committees to be put (into the pot).
- U. 8-9: Those who have become pure after performing expiation for * * sins, those who have become pure after performing expiation for having turned

^{*} The word used in the text is udappirandan; Venkayya's translation 'uterine brother' is a curious mistake. Though the singular is used in some of these phrases, no doubt the plural is meant.

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enemies of the village (grāmakanṭaka), and those who have become pure after performing expiation for incest—all these persons shall not, to the end of their lives, have their names written on pot-tickets for committees to be put (into the pot).

- 1. 9: Excluding all these persons specified above, names shall be written for pot-tickets in all the thirty wards; and in these twelve $s\bar{e}ris$, separate covering tickets $(v\bar{a}y\bar{o}lai)$ shall be attached for each separate ward, and (the tickets of) the thirty wards shall be separately bundled and put (into the pot).
- ll. 9-11: When pot-tickets are (to be) drawn, the members * of the Mahāsabhā, young and old, shall be assembled at a full meeting, and the temple priests (nambimār) who happen to be in town on the day shall, without any exception, be caused to be seated in the inner mandapa (pavilion) in the Mahāsabhā; among the temple priests, an old priest shall stand up and, looking upwards, shall hold the pot so as to be seen by all people; (the bundle of) one ward shall be caused to be taken out by a boy who cannot see the difference (between things) even by day, and it shall be put into another pot and shaken, and one ticket shall be drawn out of that pot and placed in the hands of the arbitrator (madhyasha).
- l. 11: When the madhyastha receives the ticket thus given, he shall receive it in the palm of his hand with his five fingers spread out. And he shall read (out) the ticket he has so received. The ticket so read shall be read also by all the temple priests in the inner pavilion. The name so read shall be written down. In this manner, one name shall be obtained from each of the thirty wards.

Tiruvaqiyar seems only a respectable reference to the general body

- 11. 11-12: Out of the thirty names so got, those who have served on the garden committee and the tank committee and those who are advanced in learning or in age shall form the annual committee.
- 1. 12: Of the rest, twelve shall form the garden committee. The remaining six shall form the tank committee. These two committees shall be formed by showing the karai (?). The members of the three kinds of committees that perform vāriyam shall do (their duties) for full three hundred and sixty days and then retire.
- 11. 12-13: Anyone who is found guilty among those who are serving on the committees shall be removed (forthwith).
- l. 13: (For) the committees to be appointed after the retirement of these, the members (vāriyar) who superintend charities in the twelve śēris shall themselves cause the assembly to be convened by the madhyasthas. The committees shall be appointed only by drawing pot-tickets in accordance with this deed of settlement.
- ll. 13-14: For the pancavāra committee and the gold committee, names shall be written for pot-tickets in all the thirty wards, and thirty bundles with covering tickets shall be put in, and thirty tickets drawn, from which again twelve names shall be drawn.
- l. 14: Of these twelve so drawn, six shall form the gold committee, and six the pañcavāra committee.
- ll. 14-15: When drawing pot-tickets in the following year for these committees, the karai shall be drawn only among the wards that remain after excluding those that served on these committees before (in the preceding year).

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- l. 15: Those who rode on asses, and those who forged documents shall not have their names written on pot-tickets to be put (into the pot).
- 11. 15-16: Among madhyasthas, * only a person possessing material purity (arthasaucam) shall write the accounts.

Until after a person who maintained accounts submits accounts along with the accounts-committee of the $Sabh\bar{a}$ and is declared pure, he shall not enter on (maintaining) other accounts.

A person who has been maintaining accounts shall himself submit his accounts; other accountants shall not enter and close them.

- Il. 16-17: We, the members of the assembly of Uttaramēru-caturvēdimangalam,—having been shown the gracious royal letter received from the lord of the gods, the emperor, the lover of scholars, the wrestler with elephants, the crest-jewel among heroes, the emulator of the Kalpaka, śrī Parakēsarivarma; Karañjai Koṇḍayakrama-vitta Bhaṭṭa alias Śōmāśiperumān of śrī Vanganagar in Puṇangarambai-nāḍu of the Śōla-nāḍu, sitting with us by order and causing us to make this settlement—(we) made this settlement for the prosperity of our village and for the destruction of the wicked and the increase of the rest, viz., that in this manner, from this year as long as the sun and the moon last, we shall always appoint only pot-ticket-committees.
- ll. 17-18: I, the madhyastha, Kāḍaḍippōttaṇ Śivakkuri Rājamalla mangalapriyan, wrote this settlement in this wise to the dictation of the members (perumakkal) sitting in the assembly (kuriyullirundu).

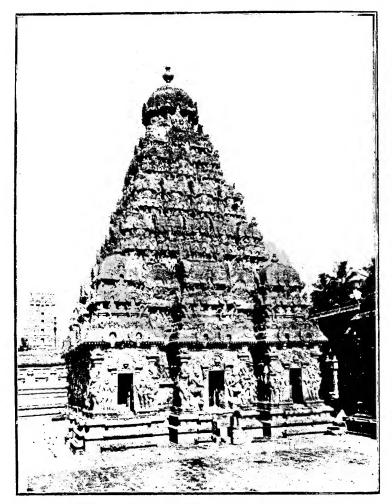
^{*} The text is madhyastharum; read ul.

VII

NARALŌKAVÍRA

A Cola Feudatory

The establishment of the Cola empire was a landmark in the history of South India. Under the Colas all the country to the south of the Kṛṣṇā river was for the first time brought under the supremacy of a fairly strong central government, and for over two centuries, its different parts came to be ruled, not as independent principalities exhausting themselves in ceaseless strife with one another, but as well-regulated provinces of a unified empire. Some fighting indeed there always was, and it was occasionally directed to the suppression of local risings, and more often to the conquest of fresh territory for the empire. But on the whole, it was a comparatively peaceful time for the bulk of Southern India, and the common people had perhaps no greater concern with the military transactions of its rulers than they have to-day with the suppression of a Moplah revolt or the expeditions on the North-West frontier of India. There were indeed some striking differences. Then the people furnished the soldiers for the whole army, and manned the navy, and war-experience must have been more wide-spread among them than now. By the opportunities it afforded for distinction in the service of the king and the prospect of a promotion into the new class of official nobility, service in the army and the navy must have been quite popular. The rapid growth of an efficient and strong bureaucracy doubtless offered attractive careers to many in the lower rungs of the civil service of the land. Those who did not enter public service minded their lands,



CENTRAL SHRINE OF THE SIVA TEMPLE, TIRUVADI-WEST VIEW.

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and followed other vocations of a more or less hereditary nature. There was a fair amount of inland trade, and larger opportunities for the speculative and the venturesome to make fortunes in foreign trade was largely concentrated in seaport towns. Then, as now, the bulk of the people lived in villages which, in various ways and with many differences, were on the whole free to look after their own affairs. Religious festivals and fairs, dance, song and the drama were among the amusements of the people. Caste and merchant guilds, religious and secular associations of various kinds shared with the king's government the great task of upholding social order by the promotion of learning and the arts, and the detection and punishment of crime. A mis-appropriation of common funds, a theft of temple jewels, an exhorbitant demand of the tax-gatherer, some breach of caste rules or conventions, such were the occasions that added spice to life in the villages, and sometimes roused the people to an unwonted display of energy.

In the higher branches of the king's service there was then no separation between the civil and military functions of officials. Scions of the royal family often occupied the top places, or held command over expeditionary forces; but there were many high offices, and though we have no evidence of any scientific system of recruitment having prevailed, we can see that these offices were held by men of all castes and creeds, and we may well believe that ordinarily, though birth and high connections brought their own initial advantages, inefficiency was not tolerated, and merit was rewarded according to its deserts. Despite the striking abundance of Cola inscriptions, some of them giving copious details of the administrative methods and machinery of the empire, we possess little

knowledge of the forms in which officials in public service were paid for the work they did. We may guess that in the highly developed system of the time, periodical payments, in cash or kind, of amounts fixed in advance, must have been the normal rule, especially in the lower ranks of the public service. instances occur, however, which prove that assignments of land, either in full ownership or with title only to particular taxes and dues thereon, formed a common method of recognising distinguished service. officials, so remunerated and standing well with the king, were great assets to the empire in the days of its strength; in the days of its decline and fall, these very men by their local influence and their turbulence and insubordination hastened the end. It is the aim of this paper to present the life and achievement of one such official in the days when the Cola empire was still strong and flourishing.

Inscriptions form the principal source of our know-ledge of Naralōkavīra. Some of these are directly concerned with him, while in the others he is mentioned incidentally. Two inscriptions, which happen to be very well preserved, give a rather long and full account, though in very ornate and sometimes obscure verse, of the life and activity of Naralōkavīra. Besides the inscriptions, there is a brief but invaluable allusion to him in the Vikramaśōlan-ulā, a contemporary poem by the celebrated poet Oṭṭakkūttar. The inscriptions on which this study is based are the following:—

A - Inscriptions bearing directly on Naralokavīra and his work.

(1) No. 367 of 1909 (Grantha-verse) - Siddhalinga-maḍam (South Arcot). A minister of king Rājēndra Cōļa, named Sabhānartaka, Kālingarāja and

Mānāvatāra, the ruler of Maṇavil, built a stone temple for Śiva at Siddhalinga. The composer of the Sanskrit verse was a certain Āṇḍapiḷḷai-bhaṭṭan.

- (2) 374 of 1908—(Tamil)-Neyvāṇai (South Arcot) of the twenty-eighth year of Rājakēsari Kulōttuṅga I, with the pugal-mādu introduction. Records gift of lands under the name 'Śuṅgandavitta-Śōla-nallūr' at the request of Poṛkōyil Toṇḍaimāṇ, a native of Arumbākkam in Jayaṅgoṇḍa-śōlamaṇḍalam.
- (3) 369 of 1909 (Grantha-verse) Siddhalinga-maḍam-(South Arcot) of the reign of Jayadhara dated Ś. 1025. The ruler of Maṇavil, called also Mānāvatāra and Nartaka, built a vimāna, and a prākāra surrounded by areca-palms, together with a maṇḍapa, at the agrahāra called Siddhalinga, for Śiva whose feet were worshipped by Vyāghrāpāda. *
- (4) 207 of 1923 (Tamil) Tiruppulivanam (Chingleput) of the 45th year of Rājakēsari Kulōttuṅga I with the pugal-mādu introduction. Gift of twelve kalañju of gold for four lamps by Poṇṇambalakkūttan alias Arumbākkilān Kāliṅgarāja of Maṇavil in Maṇayikōṭṭam.
- (5) 175 of 1919 (Tamil) Tribhuvani (Pondichery) of the sixth year of Parakēsari Vikrama-cōļadēva with the pūmādu puṇara introduction. Gift of land for temple site and premises, a hall and flower-gardens to Aruļākara Īśvaram Uḍaiyār, set up in the fifth year of Vikrama-cōļa, for the prosperity of the king and the village, by Arumbākkiļān Madurāntakan Poṇṇambalakkūttan alias Poṇkōyil Toṇḍaimāṇār, residing in Maṇavil.

^{*} For the date of this record, see A. R. E. 1928 II 10. The temple is still called Vyāghra-pādēśvara or Tiruppulippagavar. The Maṇavil ruler apparently rebuilt an ancient temple and re-engraved the older inscriptions of the temple on its new walls.

- (6) 473 of 1919 (Grantha verse) Kāñcīpuram. Construction by Naralōkavīra of the kitchen-room, a maṇḍapa and the prākāra walls, and the setting up of a recumbent image of Hari at the Aruļāla Perumāļ temple at Kāñcīpuram. He made a gift of a gold pinnacle to this new shrine and made endowments for ten perpetual lamps and for a flower-garden.
- (7) 120 of 1888 (Grantha and Tamil * verse)-Cidambaram (South Arcot) 31 verses in Sanskrit and 37 in Tamil.—An account of the buildings erected in the Cidambaram temple by Naralōkavīra and his gifts to the god and goddess of the place. Several incidental allusions to his campaigns.
- (8) 369 of 1921—(Tamil-verse) † Tiruvadi (South-Arcot)- 25 verses in Tamil. Contents similar to those of No. (7). Buildings and endowments by the same chief at Tiruvadi with incidental allusion to military campaigns.
 - B Inscriptions bearing indirectly on the subject.
- (9) 97 of 1928 (Tamil) Tiruppugalūr (Tanjore)-of year 2 of Parakēsari Vikrama-cōļadēva. The assembly of Kṣatriyaśikhāmaṇi caturvēdimaṅgalam met in the Naralōkavīraṇ-maṇḍapa in the temple of Pugalūrdēva for the transaction of some business.
- (10) 250 of 1925-(Tamil)-Tirukkaḍaiyūr (Tanjore)of the fourth year of Tribhuvanacakravartin Vikramacoļadēva. Refers to a channel called Aruļākara-vāykkāl.
- (11) 265 of 1928-(Tamil)-Nānguṇēri (Tinnevelly). In the days of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I,
- * Text in S. I. I. IV No. 225; also Perundogai by Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar Nos. 1059-94 Tamil verses only.
 - † Text in Sen Tamil Vol. 23. pp. 93 ff. and Perundogai Nos. 1095-1119.

the village of Maruvāykkuricci had also the name of Naralokavīra-nallūr.

- (12) 98 of 1908-(Tamil)-Tirupputtūr (Ramnad)-of year 3 of Māravarman Tribhuvanacakravartin Parākrama Pāṇḍyadēva. The assembly of the place made provision for a Naralōkavīran-śandi.
- (13) 131 of 1908 (Tamil) Tirupputtūr (Ramnad) of year 12 of the same king. A chieftain Uyyavandān-kaṇḍidēvan alias Gāṅgēyan made provision for a Naralōkavīran-śandi and the construction of a hall called Naralōkavīran.

Name and date.—In the inscriptions, our chieftain is variously called Küttan, Manavirküttan, Arumbākkilān, Ponnambalakküttan, Kälingarkön, Kälingarayan, Tondaimān, Aruļākaran, Naralokavīran, Mānāvatāra and The long bilingual inscription (No. 7) from Cidambaram mentions that he erected a high stone wall round the temple, and called it Naralokavira; and although the title Arulakara is sometimes employed to commemorate him in the names of places, streams etc., still Naralokavīra figures more often in the names of mandapas, halls and villages called after him, and of the worship instituted for his benefit. Moreover, Naralokavīra is a far more distinctive title than Kālingarkon or Kālingarāya, than even Maņavirkūttan. It seems best, for these reasons, to call our chieftain Naralokavīra.

The earliest reference to him in the Cōla inscriptions occurs in the 28th year of Kulōttunga I (No. 2 above), and the latest in the sixth year of his successor Vikramacōla (No. 5); and the other inscriptions which bear no dates or are dated in the reign of Māravarınan Parākrama Pāṇḍya must be taken to belong to about the same period, A. D. 1098-1124. That a Māravarman

Parākrama Pāṇḍya was a contemporary of Kulōttuṅga I and that he was probably one of the five Pāṇḍyas whom Kulōttuṅga claims to have defeated in battle is pretty clear from Pāṇḍyan inscriptions. *

Of the birth and early life of this chieftain and the steps by which he rose in the military service of the Cālukva-cola emperor Kulottunga I, we have little information. He came of the influential class of landholders called Vellalas (Vēļāņkudi mudalāņ) †, and as he is called Manavilār-ēru ‡ and Manavil-vāļ-kūttan §, and more generally, $Tondaiyar-k\bar{o}n$, \P we may assume that he was a native of Manavil in Tondainad, or at any rate that he spent a considerable part of his life in that place, either because it was the place of his birth or on account of his having held an important position there. But he is also called Arumbākkilān of Maņavil in No. (4) above, and Arumbākkiļān Porkoyil Tondaimān residing in Manavil in No. (5), and Porkoyil Tondaiman, a native of Arumbākkam in Jayangonda-solamandalam in No. (2). These inscriptions make it clear that Arumbākkam was the name of the place of his birth, and that he was connected with Manavil by residence and by the possession of certain seigniorial rights implied in his being called ruler or chief of the residents of Manavil. It seems quite possible that before the twenty-eighth year of Kulottunga, Naralokavīra had sufficiently distinguished himself in the king's wars for him to have obtained as his reward an assignment on the revenues from Manavil.

See my Pandyan Kingdom pp. 122-3 and No. 615 of 1926

[†] No. 369 of 1921 v. 18.

[‡] ib, v. 11.

[§] v. 8 in Tamil part of 120 of 1888

^{¶ 120} of 1888 and 369 of 1921 passim.

Before proceeding to a consideration of the campaigns in which Naralōkavīra participated, the buildings he constructed and the charities he endowed, it is necessary to deal with two questions viz: the identification of Maṇavil and Arumbākkam, and the political position of Naralōkavīra.

Manavil.—This place formed part of the Manavirköttam, a subdivision of Jayangonda-sölamandalam, which was the name given to Tondaimandalam rather early in the period of Cola expansion. Of this subdivision, Hultzsch at first observed: 'Possibly Manavirkottam is a mere corruption of Manayirkottam, and Manayil stands for Man-eyil, 'mud fort', which might be a fuller form of Eyil, a village in the South Arcot District, which seems to have given its name to Eyirkottam." * When, later, Hultzsch met with the phrase: 'eyirkottattu nagarangancipuram,' stating that Kañci was a city in the Eyirkottam, he felt the need for revising his opinion and remarked: † "Eyil, after which the District of Eyirkottam was called, must be distinct from the distant village of Eyil in the South Arcot District, with which I proposed to identify it on a former occasion. Perhaps the term Eyil, i.e., 'the fort', refers to Kancipuram itself." It should be observed that while this latter identification of Eyil is unexceptionable, it does not appear so easy to follow Hultzsch in his speculations concerning Manavil. forward two suggestions neither of which has received any support so far. He says that Man-eyil might be a fuller form of 'eyil;' he also says that this fuller form might yield 'Manayil' and 'Manavil'. All this seems very risky etymology. Moreover, Eyirkottam

^{*} S. I. I. p. 147 A. R. E. 1922 II 61 repeats this, quite innocent of Hultzsch's own doubts expressed later.

⁺ S. I. I. II, p. 390.

and Manavirkottam figure as two separate divisions among the twenty-four $k\bar{o}_{tt}$ ans attributed by tradition to Tondaimandalam. * We have to remember that the 'kōttam,' though it comprised further subdivisions called nādu, was rather a small administrative division. The only satisfactory method of identifying these divisions is to undertake an exhaustive study of the names of subdivisions and villages mentioned in the inscriptions as forming part of the kottam. With such complete lists before us, we can, with some confidence. proceed to fix the bounds of each kottam in terms of modern geography; and this because, in spite of a confusing recurrence of some village names in adjacent tracts, a skilful comparison of the data drawn from epigraphs with the present names of villages may be expected to lead to valuable results. Now the nadus and villages that appear in Cola inscriptions as parts of Manavirkottam so far as I have been able to trace them from the texts of inscriptions are given in the Appendix to this study. It is remarkable that, some of the nādus in our list e. g., Purisai, Pāsāli, Kanrūr and Perumur, figure also in the traditional list of nadus comprising the Manavurkottam; Manavilnadu, however, in which both Manavil and Arumbakkam were situated does not figure in it. Nevertheless it seems clear that our Manavirkottam must be the same as the Manavurkottam of tradition. In one inscription Manavirkottam is clearly called Tenkarai-Manavirkottam †, and it must have been, wholly or in part, on the southern bank of some considerable river. The suggestion may be made that Manavil and Arumbakkam of the inscriptions are identical with the modern villages of Manappākkam and Arumbākkam in the Chevyār and

^{*} Kanakasabhai - Tamils 1800 years ago. p. 28.

⁺ S. I. I. I No. 86.

Wālājāpet Taluks of the North Arcot District. These two villages are within five miles of each other and about the same distance to the south of the Palar. * The village Manappākkam is also called Ten-manappākkam which may be a shorter form of Tenkarai-Manappākkam, and Manappākkam may itself be only a variant of Manavil or Manavur. Moreover, Purisai which formed part of the Manavirkottam is near these two places, in the Cheyyar Taluk. Though there are other places called Arumbākkam, † none of them satisfies the conditions of the inscriptions under reference, and it seems clear therefore that we should look for Manavirkottam in the North Arcot District. rather than in the South Arcot or in Chingleput District. We may locate it in the Cheyyar and Wālājāpet Taluks on the southern bank of the Pālār and perhaps also, in part, in the Arkonam Taluk.

The Political Position of Naralōkavīra: In some of Naralōkavīra's inscriptions which give a detailed account of his exploits and of his charities, Nos. 6, 7, and 8 in the list given above, no regnal year of the ruling sovereign is quoted as in the others, and this may raise a doubt that at some time he might have set up independent rule, throwing off his allegiance to his Cōla overlord. Moreover these records are undated, and consequently it may be questioned if these inscriptions can be referred to the chieftain of the dated records at all. All such doubts are, however, settled by the following considerations. First, the dated and the undated records alike use identical expressions for describing the chieftain e.g., Kālingan, Mānāvatāra, Naralōkavīra, ruler of Maṇavil etc., and it is extremely

^{*} Survey map sheets Nos. 57 P/NW and P/NE (scale 1"=2 miles).

[†] An Arumbākkam 2 miles south of Tirukkovilūr (South Arcot) - Hultzsch E. I. VII, p. 133. Another in the Tiruvellūr Taluk of the Chingleput District.

unlikely that all these titles applied to two different persons who lived at different times. Secondly, these undated inscriptions are all in verse, and we have several instances in Tamil epigraphy of inscriptions in verse which record in a free literary form facts relating to well-known persons mentioned in other contemporary records of a more formal character giving reliable details of time and place. It is quite probable therefore a priori that Nos. 6, 7, and 8 are such literary records of the life and achievements of the chieftain whose date and position are more exactly recorded in Nos. 1-5. Lastly, Nos. 7 and 8 contain sufficiently precise references to the contemporary Cōla monarch and the subordinate relation of Naralōkavīra to him. Thus in No. 7 we read:

pērolinīr-mōdā

alaikinga- vellaiy-Abhayanukkē-yāga malaikinga Tondaiyār-man,

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that is to say, 'the chief of the Tondaiyar who fights, to bring under the sole dominion of Abhaya, the earth bounded by the noisy ocean with its dashing waves'. It is well-known that Abhaya was a title of the Cola emperor Kulottunga I which occurs in the Kalingattupparani and rarely also in the inscriptions of his reign. Earlier in the same inscription we have:

tollai-nīr

maņmagaļait-taṅgōṇ-madi-kkuḍai-kkīļ vīggirutti uņmagiļun-doṇḍaiyar-kōṇ-uggu,

meaning—'Having installed the Earth Goddess under the moon-like umbrella of his lord,—the Earth (surrounded by) the ancient sea,—the chief of the

Tondaiyar was pleased at heart.'* And we read likewise in No. 8 the following:

maņ-muludundangōn kudai-nilarkīlt-tanguvitta vēr-Kūttaņ engōn maņavilār-ēru,

that is: "The Kūttan with the lance, who brought the whole earth under the shade of the umbrella of his overlord, is our chief, the chief of the people of Maṇavil." Again, in the very next verse,

maṇṇai-ppodu-nīkkit-taṅgōṇukkākkiṇāṇ Toṇḍaiyar-kōṇ-āṅgu,

'the chief of the Tondaiyar bestowed the earth on his lord after thrusting aside the claims of others (to it).' There seems to be no reason to doubt the identity of the overlord of these three extracts with Abhaya Kulottunga of the first. Moreover, the Vikramašolan-ulā mentions a Kālingar-kōn (ll. 154-8), and its brief reference to his military successes leave, as will be seen presently, no doubt about his identity with our chieftain.

It may be observed in passing that the ulā makes an unmistakable distinction between the celebrated Karuṇākara Toṇḍaimāṇ, the conqueror of Kalingam, and our chieftain who has been rather hastily identified with Karuṇākara on account of one of his titles, Aruļākara, which occurs in the inscriptions noticed above. † That a surname conveying the same idea is expressed in two forms like Karuṇākara and Aruļākara which are never confused in the epigraphs, is in itself sufficient indication that they refer to different persons;

^{*} Also 'Kūttan - riśaiyanaittu - man - puliyanai nadakka vaittu' - a clear reference to his subordination to the Cola with the tiger-crest.

[†] See Vikramašoļaņ-ulā il. 134-8. Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar—Kalingattupparaņiyārāyeci pp. 47-54, gives a full discussion on the subject.

at any rate, it is only by an oversight of the list of chieftains furnished by the Vikramaśōlan - ulā that Karunākara Tondaimān could ever have been confused with our Kalingar-kon, Naralokavira. The reference in the ulā, and the repeated statements in the inscriptions that he fought for increasing the power of his overlord Abhaya make it very clear that Naralokavīra was a captain of the Cola army in the days of Kulōttunga I and his son Vikrama Cola, and that at the end of a very successful military career, he secured Manavil in Tondainad as his fief. It may be conjectured also, from his surname Kālingar-kon, that he might at one time have acted as governor of Kalinga; but of this we cannot be sure as there are so many Kālingarāyas in the mediaeval records of the Pāndyas and the Colas, and as we do not know how this name came to be applied to them.

The military exploits of Naralōkavīra:—The nature of our sources makes it very difficult for us to give a chronological account of the career of Naralōkavīra. A full and critical study of the records of the reigns of Kulōttunga and Vikrama Cōla, such as cannot be undertaken here, may carry us farther than the study merely of the inscriptions of Naralōkavīra. What is offered now is a tentative discussion of the data that can be gathered from the latter and from the Vikramašōlan-ulā.

The lines in the $ul\bar{a}$ are:

vēngaiyiņun-

gūdār vilinattuń-gollattuń-gońgattumōdā-virațṭattu-moṭṭattu-nādādadiyeduttu vevvērarasiriya-vīrakkodiyedutta kāliṅgar-kōṇ' (ll. 154-8),

that is to say, 'Kālingar-kon (chief of Kālingas) who raised the banner of heroism in Vēngai (Vengi), in

hostile Viliñam, in Kollam, in Kongam, in invincible Iratta and in Otta (Odra), with the result that different kings were forced to flee these countries without (hope of) returning (to them)'. The slightest acquaintance with the nature of our sources is enough to show that here we have a mixture of history and epic in which history is present in a larger proportion than is usual in such cases. At the same time, we can attach no historical importance to the order in which the countries are named in this passage, as that is obviously determined by metrical exigencies.

We shall now examine how far the statements in the $ul\bar{a}$ receive epigraphical confirmation. It may be observed at the outset that these four lines of the ulā have more information packed into them than is furnished by all the sixty odd venbās of the Cidambaram and Tiruvadi inscriptions taken together. Of these inscriptions, the Tiruvadi record contains no reference whatever to any campaign besides that in the Southern country-Pandya country, and the Cidambaram inscription, while it seems to furnish some details of the southern campaign, makes only vague references to campaigns * against the northern kings (vadamannar). Thus the inscriptions now considered contain little which might enable us to control the cryptic references in the ulā to the part played by Naralōkavīra in the campaigns in Kongam and Irattam, the Rastrakuta country called Irattapādi in Cola inscriptions. states that this chieftain fought in Vēngai (Vengi) and Otta, the Orissa country, and this, as we have just seen, receives some confirmation from the vague statements of the Cidambaram record about the northern kings being defeated and their treasures being captured by

^{*} Ollai-vadavēndar selvamelām vānga vēl-vāngum; tennar malaimannarēņai-vadamannar marrakulamannar selvamelāngondu.

Naralōkavīra. We also find the name Kālingar-kōṇ repeatedly applied to him. In the absence of more precise information, it is not easy to fix the period of Naralōkavīra's activity in Vengi and Oḍra. From the accession of Kulōttunga I, the Vengi and Cōla kingdoms were administered as parts of a single empire, and it is quite possible that the campaign referred to here was undertaken during the first war against Kalinga that was waged about 1090-1095 A. D. in Kulōttunga's reign. *

Of the fighting in the south more details are forthcoming. The ulā specifies Vilinam and Kollam as the places round which the campaign centred. And the inscriptions confirm this to a remarkable extent. According to these, the campaign was undertaken against the Pandyas and the Ceras. By the time of Kulottunga's accession to the Cola throne, these two powers had been politically subject to the Cola rulers for nearly a century. They never reconciled themselves, however, to the Cola yoke and must have found occasion in the confusion that preceded Kulottunga's accession to rise against the Cola power. In any event, we know from Kulottunga's inscriptions that he led a great expedition to the south, defeated five Pandya kings, captured the fortress of Kottar, and, after a great deal of fighting, settled a number of military colonies in the country restored to subjection to the Cola power. One of these Pāndya kings was a Māravarman Parākrama Pāndya. † As there are two inscriptions of

^{*} S. I. I III 72. Pandit M. Rāghava Aiyangar op. cit. p. 51. The pandit's suggestion that he might have inherited the title Kālingarāya seems to discount altogether the data from the ulā on Vengi and Odra.

[†] See my Pāndyan Kingdom, p. 123. There is no foundation for the view that 'Naralōkavīra' of the Parākrama Pāndya inscriptions was a surname of the Pāndya king, or that it indicates any person different from our chieftain. Contra. A. R. E. 1921-22 II. 61.

Parākrama Pāṇḍya, Nos. 12 and 13 (ante), which refer to a Naralōkavīraṇṣandi and a hall called Naralōkavīraṇ, it is probable that Parākrama Pāṇḍya was met in battle and defeated by our chieftain who is said to have compelled the Pāṇḍyas to take refuge in the mountain with their women-folk:

teṇṇavartam pūvēru vār-kuļalāroḍum poruppēra mā-vēru Toṇḍaiyār-maṇ.

He is also said to have destroyed Kollam (Kollam-alivukaṇḍāṇ) after capturing the western hill-country of the Pāṇḍya (teṇṇar kuḍamalai-nāḍeṇindu). We are also told that Vēṇāḍu (South Travancore) was the source of trouble, and that it was ravaged with fire and sword by Naralōkavīra:

püŕal

viļaivitta vēņādum verpaņaittun-jendī valaivittāņ Toņdaiyār-maņ.

He is also said to have subdued the $c\bar{u}v\bar{e}rs$ of the Pandya who were proud of their strength:

tennādan sāvērrin-rin serukkai yanramaittān Toņdaiyar kön-āngu.

The cavers were a class of specially trained warriors who braved death cheerfully; * it has been supposed that this class of warriors was confined to the Malabar country. The mention in the Tiruvadi inscription of the cavers of the Pandya is a very interesting fact. This fact renders it easier for us to understand the Tamil prasasti of Kulottunga which narrates the war with the cavers that preceded the colonisation of Kottar and other places in the Pandya country. Another interesting fact to which special

^{*} See Logan-Manual of the Malabar District, index s. v. Chaver.

attention may be drawn is the prominent part of the cavalry implied in the repeated reference to horses in the inscriptions. One of the extracts from the Cidambaram inscription given above (tennavartam says that when Tondaiyarkon got up on pūvēru etc.) his steed, the Pandya got up on the mountain (fled for refuge) with his women. Again the military colonists whom Kulottunga settled in the Pandya country. evidently at the end of the campaign here noticed, are described as chiefs of his cavalry forces (mā-vēriya-tan varūdinit-talaivarai). It seems such a pity that we have no reliable means of ascertaining the nature and equipment of the Cola army at the time and its methods of warfare.

It is thus clear that, saving some uncertain services in Vengi and Orissa, the chief claim of Naralokavīra to recognition at his king's hands lay in his expedition into the Pandya country and the subjugation of the rebellious Vēnād. It is instructive to compare the position of Karunākara Tondaimān in the Kalinga campaign with that of Naralokavira in the subjugation of the south, and though no special eulogy like the Kalingattupparani was evoked by his achievement, * still we can see from the length and eloquence of the two inscriptions in Cidambaram and Tiruyadi and from the extent and variety of his charitable endowments and constructions (which we proceed next to consider in detail), that he must have occupied a prominent place in the Cola court and held a rank not much below that of the conqueror of Kalingam. manner in which he is mentioned in the Vikramaśōlanulā among those who followed Vikrama in his ulā seems to confirm this.

^{*} See however the Parani III 21.

Naralokavira's religious and charitable works :- The great position and influence in the state that Naralokavīra had built for himself by distinguished military service was used by him for the furtherance of the arts of peace. The temple was in those days the accredited centre not merely of religious devotion but of learning, culture and the arts. And, among others, the celebrated Siva temples of Cidambaram and Tiruvadi (S. Arcot) became the spheres of the public benefactions of Naralokavira, and the inscriptions in these places (Nos. 7 and 8 above) give very interesting and trustworthy accounts of the buildings he erected and the endowments he made in these towns. The title Porkovil Tondaiman and the surnames Nartaka and Sabhanartaka often applied to him in these inscriptions furnish clear proof of his deep devotion to Nataraja, the Dancing Siva. The statements in the Cidambaram inscription relating to his charitable works may be summed up as follows.

This record as we have seen comprises two halves—the first of 31 Sanskrit verses and the second of about thirty-six venbās in Tamil, * which in many instances, repeat and confirm the statements found in the Sanskrit verses.

To follow the order adopted in the Sanskrit portion, we are told that Naralokavīra set up innumerable street-lights (vīthidīpa) (st. 2.; v. 1076) and made arrangements for watering the streets on festive occasions (st. 3). He created a sacred garden (nandavana) which was filled with the bustle of the gods that came

^{*} The published text in S. I. IV. No. 225 is defective at some points. A literal translation of this record cannot be attempted without a more critical edition of the text. For the Tamil part I follow Pt. Raghava Aiyangar's text accepting his conjectural emendations wherever they are prima facie correct. The Venba (v) numbers quoted are those of the Perundogai.

to witness the dance of Siva and in which flourished a hundred thousand areca-palms besprinkled with Ganges water scattered by the matted hair on the head of Siva during his dance. (st. 4-5 and vv. 1089 and 1090). He erected a mandapa near the sea and opened a broad road to it for the tirthayatra in the month of Māśi (st. 6 and v. 1091), and near that mandapa he made a large tank of fresh water with a large banyan tree on its bank (st. 7). He constructed round the temple a great wall called Naralökavīra (after him) from which there rose two tall towers (qopurayuqa) reaching out to the sky (st. 8 and 9). He whom the poets call Arulakara justified the name by constructing a hall with a hundred pillars where Pasupati, seeing that it was a place meet for his dance, disported himself with his beloved (st. 10, v. 1073). Round the sacred tank in the temple he built a flight of stone steps which looked like the path by which his fame descended to the nether world (st. 11, v. 1075). On either side of the golden gateway on the south (of the temple) he set up mangaladīpas which dispelled from his subjects the shadows of earthly life (st. 12). The priests responsible for worship in the temple were the recipients of rich endowments from him: further, he erected a fine hall for the constant recitation of the Dēvāram of Gñānasambanda * (st. 13, and v. 1072). He covered the great Sabhā (mahatīm sabhām, pērambalam) with copper (st. 14 and v. 1063). He constructed a vehicle with a bull mounted on it. and on this vehicle the god was taken in procession during bhiksātana yātras. (st. 15). A bugle inlaid with

^{*} Kumāra-stotra-pārāyaņa of the Sanskrit śloka adopts the Sanskrit form of the name Aludaiya-pillaiyār for Sambanda. (See st. 26 and 27). It may also he noted that while the Sanskrit has kāncanam mandapam, v. 1072 has only mandapam which, if it refers to the same structure, as I think it does, shows that we are not to understand literally the many references to golden halls.

gold intended to announce the arrival of Dēvadēva (God of gods) was presented by him to the temple (st. 16, v. 1066). Ten nityadīpas of fragrant camphor (st. 20, v. 1067), a golden water-pot (st. 21, v. 1065), an image of Sambanda (st. 26) together with a large number of precious jewels (st. 18, 24) and arrangements for annual abhisēkas in the different shrines in the temple (st. 22, 25 and v. 1071) formed part of Naralokavīra's endowments to the temple of Nataraja. A prākāra and a mandapa and a high outer wall of stone were erected for the shrine of the goddess Parvatī whose image was clad in a splendid robe and adorned from head to foot with fine jewels befitting the dancing hall of her lord (sva-pati-naţanāsthāna-yōgyam) (st. 28-30 vv. 1077, 1078, 1080). Lastly, Naralokavīra gave a perpetual endowment for the daily supply of oil and milk for children to signify the universal motherhood of the goddess (st. 31). The Tamil part adds a few items to this long list of Naralokavīra's charities in Cidambaram; of these the most noteworthy are the engraving on copper-plates of the whole of the Devaram as it was sung by the three hymnists (v. 1088) and the construction of a stone sluice to a large irrigation tank in the neighbourhood of Cidambaram (v. 1094).

It must be noticed here that from the inscriptions of Vikrama Cōla dating from the eleventh year of his reign (c. 1128-9 A. D.), we learn that that monarch takes credit to himself for many things in the temple of Naṭarāja * which bear a close resemblance to what Naralōkavīra is reported to have done. Not only are the constructions and endowments briefly mentioned in Vikrama Cōla's inscription similar to those in the record analysed above, but that king is said to have undertaken this extensive reconstruction of the great

^{*} See 165 of 1894—S. I. I. Texts V. No. 458

temple from funds provided out of tributes collected by him from subject kings. It seems hardly possible that the undated Cidambaram record of Naralokavīra and the inscriptions of Vikrama Cola, so similar in their contents, refer to two different sets of operations unrelated to each other. We may therefore assume that the later years of Naralokavīra's life were spent by him in assisting his sovereign in carrying out the programme of religious works he had made for himself. Nothing was more natural in those days than that an old warrior who, in his younger days had seen a great deal of fighting in distant countries, should, in the evening of his life, find congenial occupation, still in the service of his king and country, in renovating and beautifying holy places of ancient renown. perhaps it is proof alike of the mutual trust between the king and his feudatory, and of the impersonal attitude which characterised their action in the service of God, that their works are reported in the inscriptions in a manner calculated to conceal from our view their relative shares in the great task.

To this day one of the enclosing walls of the Cidambaram temple is called Vikramašūļan-tirumāligai, the name employed for it in Vikrama's inscription (śēmboṇṇambalam-śūl-tirumāligaiyum). It is not possible to say if the reference to the entire Dēvāram being engraved on copper-plates is a fact, or only a mere repetition of an old convention in relation to such matters. The Sūtras of the Iraiyaṇār - Kalaviyal are also supposed to have been written on copper-plates in the first instance by their divine author. Allowing, however, for all the hyperbole characteristic of such eulogies, we can still hardly fail to recognise that the first ten years or so of the reign of Vikrama Cōla saw extensive improvements and reconstructions in the

greatest centre of Saivism in South India, and that our chieftain had an important share in them.

There is one circumstance which renders this surmise about Naralōkavīra's relation to Vikrama Cōļa's works in Cidambaram the more probable. This chieftain had by the time of Vikrama's accession added to his distinction in the army a considerable experience in the construction and endowment of temples and mandapas. In the life-time of Kulottunga, he built a stone temple of good size to Vyāghrapādēśvara at Siddhalingamadam; * he also constructed a mandapa and prākāra walls and set up a recumbent image of Hari in Kancipuram. † And, though we cannot be quite sure of it, it is not improbable that before he turned to Cidambaram, he completed the constructions Tiruvadi which included a mandapa and a māligai, a hall with a hundred-pillars, a broad procession-path (tiruccurru), a dancing hall and other structures very similar to those erected at Cidambaram. In many ways then Naralokavīra must have appeared to Vikrama Cola as the person most fitted to carry out the great enterprise at Cidambaram which was to mark his intense devotion to his tutelary deity (tan kulanāyakan).

We have followed the life and work of Naralokavīra with the clear testimony of contemporary inscriptions and literature. There are many gaps in the story, and obviously we cannot accept everything that is stated in the inscriptions as literally true. It is quite possible that when more texts of inscriptions from the south (Madura, Tinnevelly, Travancore) are published or fresh inscriptions copied, we may get more light on the life and times of this chieftain

^{*} Nos. 367 and 369 of 1909 (1 and 3 above).

^{+ 473} of 1919 (6 above).

which will enable us to fill some of the gaps in our story. But the evidence at hand is quite definite on the services rendered by Naralokavira to Kulottunga I and his son and successor Vikrama Cola, and on the position he held among the official nobility of the land. Though he fought in several campaigns, his greatest distinction was doubtless his success in the southern campaign of Kulottunga which resulted in the establishment of military colonies on the main road through the Pandya country to Kottar and Cape Comorin. have seen that he was connected in some special manner with Manavil; most likely he was granted by the king an assignment of the revenues due from the place. Once indeed he is called mā-Mayilai-ttondaiyarkon kuttan (v. 1064); but this, I think, is only in obedience to a poetic convention which treated Mayilai (Mylapore) as one of the beauty-spots of the Tondainad which Naralokavīra belonged. The constructions and charities at Kancipuram, Tiruvadi, Siddhalingamada, Tribhuvani, Cidambaram and other places undoubtedly gave him opportunities for the encouragement of artisans of various types. Masons and architects, jewellers and gardeners, weavers and musicians must have been employed by him in work suited to their qualifications and tastes. And one may add that the literary men whom he patronised, like the composers of the Sanskrit verses and the Tamil venbas of the Cidambaram and Tiruvadi inscriptions, on which this study is so largely based, were not mere versifiers, but could lay some claim to real poetic talent.

APPENDIX III

Nādus and Villages in Maņavirkottam

- (a) Kanrurnādu
 - (1) Köttür alias Colaviccadira Caturvedimangalam 248 of 1910-Vikrama-Cöladeva 234 of 1910-Kulöttunga III
 - (2) Kūvam alias—
 - (i) Madurāntakanallūr—
 326 of 1909 Kulōttuṅga I
 244 of 1910
 - (ii) Tyāgasamudranallūr— 329 of 1909-Kulōttuṅga III
 - (3) Vīrapāṇḍiyanallūr— 518 of 1920-Kulōttuṅga I
- (b) Maņavilnādu
 - (1) Arumbākkam—

 58 of 1921

 380 of 1921

 Kulöttunga I
 - (2) Maṇavil— 288 of 1906-Rājarāja I 175 of 1919-Vikrama Cōļa
- (c) Mēr paļugūrnādu
 - (1) Nallilamangalam— 61 of 1923-Rājakēsari
- (d) Palaiyanūrnādu
 - (1) Palaiyanūr— 336 of 1909-Kulõttunga (III)
 - (2) Vidaiyūr— 233 of 1917-Kulöttunga III

- (e) Panmānādu
 - (1) Murungai: S. I. I.-I-No. 86
 - (2) Takkolam alias-
 - (i) Kṣatriyaśikhāmaṇipuram
 259 of 1921-Rājarāja I
 256 and 274 of 1921-Rājēndra Çōļa I
 - (ii) Iraṭṭapāḍikoṇḍacōļapuram262 of 1921-Rājādhirāja Į
 - (iii) Kulöttungacölapuram263 of 1921-Kulöttunga I265 of 1921-Rājarāja III
 - (3) Tiruvūralpuram (a hamlet of Takkōlam)— 255 of 1921-Rājakēsarivarman 12 of 1897-Parāntaka I
- (f) Pāśāli nādu
 - (1) Kidārangondasolapuram—

(modern Narasingapuram?)

244 of 1910-Kulöttunga I

- (2) Pāśāli— 254 of 1921-Parāntaka I 515 of 1918-Kulōttunga III
- (g) Perumūrnādu
 - (1) Naduvilmalai Tirunedumpirai— 114 of 1912-Kulöttunga III
- (h) Purisainādu
 - (1) Puriśai— 251 and 252 of 1910-Kulottunga I
 - (2) Ürādagam—246 of 1921-Parāntaka I 18 of 1896-Rājēndra Cōļa I

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